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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Transmitting Cultural Values in the Music Lesson

By

Melinda Anne Cooke ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music.

IN

Ethnomusicology

Department of Music

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall, 1994

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Transmitting Cultural Values in the Music Lesson," submitted by Melinda Cooke in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music in Ethnomusicology.

R. B. Qureshi, supervisor

M. Asch

D. Gramit

May 18, 1994

Dedicated to Randa, my dearest sister.

ABSTRACT

The music lesson is an event in which music and skills for making music are transmitted, thus ensuring the maintenance of a music tradition. This is an ethnographic study of such an event. The intention of my study is to to deconstruct the event and to investigate the cultural values and attitudes that inform behaviour of those participants involved. The violin lesson is an excellent domain for studying how music and music-making acitivities reflect cultural values for what is considered musically significant (and thus culturally so) form the parameters in the music lesson.

The intention of this ethnography, however, is not only to study the lesson as an enculturative event but to critically reflect on the music tradition which the violin lesson is based. I examine what is implied in the maintenance of the music tradition, both the canon and accompanying values, and how this affects the individual musician.

In the first chapter I provide information about the Suzuki method and why I chose this method to do such an investigation. In the second chapter, I define the music lesson as a formal and structured event and investigate what implications such an event entails. In the next chapter, I examine how the physical discipline required of the violin student is a manifestation of structure and control. In the final chapter, I analyze how the formal lesson setting and the disciplined body are related to (and even the result of) a music tradition that defines the music as an autonomous "work".

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Chapter One

Introduction

This is an ethnographic study of the private lesson in the Western art music tradition. The lesson is a particular teaching situation where the student is directly instructed, learning the mechanics and the conceptual frameworks that underlie participation in the music making process and make it meaningful. Discussing participation in music, Feld uses the metaphor "music consumption" to describe the manner in which music is interpreted, produced and performed. By making "choices and juxtaposing background knowledge" (Feld 1984: 4) the individual is able to engage in music activities, but this is not an intuitive engagement. Humans learn to make choices, interpret and apprehend value based on particular cultural conventions. I will examine how music is transmitted as concept, form and behavior and how cultural values and attitudes are implicit and maintained through this transmission. As Nettl observes "our ways of teaching our musical system inevitably are also ways in which we teach the values of our culture" (1985b: 69). Music and culture are inextricably linked and by studying an example of our "way of teaching", we can better understand the connection.

The act of teaching music involves observable behavior and non-observable conceptions that structure behavior. The music teacher instructs the students how to act, move, what and where to play. She is responsible for adhering to a norm, to promote certain aesthetic values and appropriate musicianly behavior in her student. These elements are manifest in the teaching process and are consciously defined in the "how to" of the specific methodology. It is important however, to go beyond these overt goals of the methodology, to do what Geertz calls a "thick description" (1973: 7), to analyze the signification behind the behavior observed.

Cultural values and attitudes informing this instruction are transmitted on an implicit, covert level and not because they are unimportant. Indeed it is in the "implicit channels of meaning" in which "human society itself is achieved" (Douglas 1978: 4). The backgrounding of cultural meanings occurs because the meanings are perceived as "self evident", "too true to warrant discussion" (Douglas 1978: 3-4). As such, analysis of cultural values is generally drawn from the observable, the "foreground" of a social situation. As Malinowski encountered in his analysis of the tribal life of the Trobrianders, culture is not a defined set of rules in which members consciously adhere

to, "there is no written or explicitly expressed code of laws . . . the whole structure of their society, [is] embodied in the most elusive of all materials; the human being" (1922: 11). Cultural values are manifest somewhat covertly in human behavior, traditions, attitudes and interactions with "the material conditions of [the] environment" (Malinowski 1922: 11) and thus are not laid out for the ethnographer to gather, but to interpret.

The intention of this ethnographic study is to analyze the music lesson, but more specifically, to analyze what cultural information underlies the explicit activities of those involved, what "background" knowledge is being relied upon to direct the teaching process. A similar study of the implicit in an educational situation was done by Kapferer (1981). Based on her investigation of Australian private and state schools, she argues that education in the school setting has three main objectives: to instruct, select and socialize. It is the last element, socialization, that Kapferer claims is rarely critically examined. She defines it as a "covert operation, dealing with the inculcation of culturally defined ways of perceiving the world and acting within it" (1981: 258). The process of socialization is for the most part taken for granted and hidden underneath the direct process of instruction.

In a similar vein, Shepherd and Vulliamy conducted an ethnographic study of the music program in Ontario public schools in order to "pinpoint the precise mechanisms by which both the form and content of school music teaching convey a dominant ideology" and moreover, not only those ideologies pertaining to music, but to those "fundamental epistemological assumptions underpinning industrial, capitalist society" (1983: 15). Their intention was to investigate how the music program presents students with an ideological framework, a framework that is not made explicit in the school's curriculum.

The music lesson is similarly a situation in which the enculturative goals are far less obvious than the instructional goals. However, in order to study how the lesson is an enculturative process, how certain dominant ideologies are transmitted, it is necessary to begin by examining the instructional goals, which are neither elusive nor covert. These goals convey what is considered musically significant and are thus the "foreground" to what is considered culturally significant.

1.1 WHY STUDY THE MUSIC LESSON?

Music transmission is part of cultural regeneration and prevalent the world over, wherever music, or some like phenomenon, exists.[1] However there are marked differences in how, where and why this transmission takes place. The context and content of instruction depend on the cultural values informing the teaching process. An appropriate starting point for analyzing music transmission then is to study the teaching process, where it occurs, who does it, and how and why it is done.

I have chosen to study the music lesson because it is a focused event and is contained in the sense that there are explicit goals and a systematic means of reaching those goals. Furthermore, it is the legitimized means of transmitting musical knowledge and skills in the Western classical tradition. Leppert, concerned with "cultural regeneration" in eighteenth century England, refers to the domestic music lesson as being the "sanctioned education process" (1988: 2).

The music lesson is one example of how our own society teaches music and while it is not the only way, it is the most structured, and as in the eighteenth century English home, the most sanctioned. In choosing to examine certain instances of teaching individuals how to play the violin, I do not claim exclusive rights to explaining how individuals are taught to "consume" (Feld 1984) music but to focus on one instance.

1.2 ONE EXAMPLE OF "OUR WAY OF TEACHING" - THE SUZUKI VIOLIN LESSON

This study is based on observations of a particular teaching situation, the Suzuki violin lesson, a Japanese methodology rooted in the Western art music tradition. The Suzuki methodology was formulated by Shin'ichi Suzuki (b.1898), a Japanese educationist and violin teacher. The Suzuki approach features unique directives in teaching individuals how to play the violin, however, I am more concerned with studying it as a mainstream pedagogy, as it exists in a much broader music context.

The Suzuki violin lesson is one example of "our way of teaching" (Nettl 1985). It is often compared to "traditional teaching", a reference made by Suzuki methodologists to the European schools of pedagogy named after certain violinists such as Corelli,

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[1] In Seeger's summary of recent music ethnographies, he notes that there have been various definitions of "music" encountered by ethnographers, and an "inclusive term is often lacking" (1992: 102).

Kreutzer, Kreisler, Galamian, Flesch and Auer (Barber 1993, Eisler 1993, Starr 1976). However, the comparison to traditional teaching styles that is used to define the Suzuki method is not based on a conspicuous distinction between the two. Starr notes that "most of the differences between Suzuki's teaching and traditional forms are found in the early years of development" (1976: 117). The focus of the Suzuki teaching method is on "teaching very young children" from the beginning of their musical training, to "build character" by introducing them to "good" music from the day of their birth (Suzuki 1969 a). As students advance in their playing, they are "encouraged to study in the wider community" (bulletin from The Society for Talent Education's tenth Anniversary, December sixth, 1975)[2] and as Starr states, the advanced Suzuki student does not look or play differently from an advanced non-Suzuki student (1976: 117).

Part of Suzuki's own experience as a violin student took place in Germany at a formative period in his life. At the age of twenty-two, Suzuki sailed to Europe and engrossed himself in the Western art music environment. Suzuki became involved in the European music world, taking lessons with Klingler, studying composition in Leipzig with Georg Schumann, and attending concerts at every opportunity that arose. One concert, which Suzuki writes about later in Japan, was particularly memorable and in his written account is reflected his mental and emotional involvement. He tells of feeling overwhelmed by Mozart's Clarinet Quintet in A major, A. 581, played by the Klingler String Quartet:

> It was Mozart who taught me to know perfect love, truth, goodness and beauty. And I now deeply feel as if I were under the direct orders of Mozart, and he left me a legacy, and in his place I am to further the happiness of all children. What lead to this revelation was the Klingler's Quartet playing of Mozart's Clarinet Quintet (Cook 1970: 21, quoting Suzuki).

Shortly after this event, Suzuki went to Karl Klingler's home, seeking him out as a teacher. Klingler was a student of Joseph Joachim, an influential and renowned Austro-Hungarian violinist. Joachim was noted for his emphasis on tone production and his opposition to the extreme gymnastic manoeuvres of the left hand that Paganini had made so famous (Axelrod 1976). Joachim's playing was fashioned after the

---

[2] There is disagreement amongst practising Suzuki teachers as to whether students should be encouraged to "study in a wider community." I believe that when the Society was first set up in Edmonton, integration was indeed a definitive goal. The point to be made, regardless of whether this is still a defined goal of the Society's (and associated teachers), is that there is no desire to isolate Suzuki students from the rest of the music community, and the goals (with regard to technical capabilities and exposure to the music canon) are defined in a broader context.

classical French school (Viotti, Rode, Kreutzer), an established tradition modelled on the old Italian bel canto style. Joachim was an eminent member of this school of violin playing, and his students were responsible for maintaining the tradition. As Klingler's student, Suzuki is, in a sense, part of this lineage.

Shin'ichi, however, was not only enculturated into the Western musical environment, but also adopted Western ideas and lifestyle patterns in other areas of his life. His associations with certain individuals such as Albert Einstein, influenced him to a great extent. He became a member of the Catholic church and married a German woman, Waltraud Prange, on February 8, 1928. They intended to live in Switzerland but Suzuki was asked to return to Japan shortly after the wedding, where his mother, Ryo Fujie Suzuki, was seriously ill.

When Suzuki returned to Japan in 1929, he concertized as a solo violinist and organized the Suzuki Quartet with his three other brothers. In 1930, he began teaching music to young children and twenty years later, he had developed a teaching methodology which was to become one of the most renowned in North America.

Suzuki approached teaching from a rather unique philosophical perspective. He did not talk about how to play the violin so much as why to play it. The fundamentals of his ideology had to do with developing "talent" in all individuals, with "saving the world" through music, with nurturing in children a love for others. As mentioned above, the notion of enculturating the individual is a fundamental aspect of Suzuki's philosophy, for ideally, music education starts in the beginning of a child's life with listening to the "proper" music.[3] This is reflected not only in the title of one Suzuki's books: Ability Development from Age Zero (1969), but also in the comparison made between music development and language development.

What emerged out of these ideals was an explicit articulation of certain principles of the Western classical tradition. As an outsider to the tradition, but one who was intensely enculturated into it at an early stage in his life, Suzuki recognized implicit aspects having to do with the structure of the music lesson, performance, professionalism, talent, enculturation. He examined these elements with a degree of critical reflection,

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[3] By using the term "proper," I am referring to the music chosen for the purpose of music education, music based upon the European art music canon, with the addition of folk tunes, lullabies, etc.

based on his own experience as a student in Germany, and later his role as a teacher.

Suzuki's philosophical renderings were not merely ideals but formed the basis of a teaching methodology. In order for such a formation to occur, systemization was necessary, delineating not only the philosophy but a practical usage of this philosophy. Suzuki developed a "violin method",[4] taking ten years to do so. He placed tremendous importance on the "basics of playing", such as how to hold the violin and create a "beautiful" tone (Herrmann 1981: 36).

In 1964 Suzuki was invited to go on a tour to North America with the intention of introducing his teaching ideas to various educators. Suzuki's teaching drew attention due to the remarkable display of very young Japanese children playing difficult repertoire. Soon after this introduction, "adherents flocked to the Suzuki banner" (Starr 1976: preface). With the "pioneer efforts" of those individuals who wanted to introduce "Suzuki's way" to the West, his ideas and teaching methodology were disseminated through American educators and their writings (Starr 1976: preface).

These American contributions (Cook, Herrmann, Kendall, Starr) led to an even more pronounced explicitness in the teaching process, for the goal was to present Suzuki's pedagogical directives to a broad range of educators. It is important to remember that Suzuki's own philosophical goal was to promote self realization through music. Music was, according to Suzuki, to be made accessible to everyone, for "we are all born with a high potential, and if we try hard we can all become superior human beings and acquire talent and ability" (1969: 108). This accessibility was fostered by those educators who wanted to use Suzuki's ideology in an American teaching context. These authors wrote "for those least informed about Suzuki's philosophy and methodology . . . the non-musical parent, the novice teacher, and the experienced teacher who had had little contact with the Suzuki approach . . . the eclectic , inquiring teacher who has no intention of becoming a Suzuki disciple" (Starr 1976: preface a). A precise and well-defined teaching methodology resulted from this attempt to appeal to a varied audience. Furthermore, Suzuki's ideal was to begin formal

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[4] This is a term used by Herrmann. Suzuki regarded the term "method" as being too limited, not taking into account philosophical implications. Ther term "methodology," is used in the thesis with the understanding that it is inclusive of both the philosophy and pedagogical directives.

teaching at the age of two or three, creating a need for detailed and explicit direction. Such explicitness is illustrated in Starr's book The Suzuki Violinist.

> Holding the violin in playing position. The proper position.
> Exercise: Teacher places the feet in the correct position.
> 1. Student faces teacher, standing straight, with the feet together.
> 2. Teacher moves each foot [of student] approximately 45 degrees outward.
> 3. Teacher moves right foot slightly behind the left.
> 4. Student shifts weight to the left foot.
>
> Exercise: Teacher places the violin (or box) in playing position.
> 1.-2. Student turns head to the left. Keeps left hand at side.
> 3. Teacher, positioned on the child's left, inserts violin between chin and shoulder. The violin is tilted slightly, parallel to the floor. The student's nose should point to the strings. The nut of the violin should point to the center of the throat.
> 4. After making sure that the student has a secure hold on the violin, the teacher releases his hold.
> 5. Teacher counts to see how long student can hold the violin without allowing it to fall (1976:41-3)

While practitioners of the methodology are aware of probable deviations from Starr's directives in an actual teaching situation, written instruction such as this represents a certain degree of explicitness that characterizes the Suzuki methodology. Such explicitness is further evident in other related areas of instruction, such as how to introduce music to the child, how to conduct the lesson and home practice sessions, how to incorporate performance practice into the learning, how to encourage good practicing habits.

The Suzuki methodology is a good diagnostic for understanding the teaching process in the Western classical tradition. Not only is it one of the most successfully maintained teaching methods in North America, but more relevant to this study, certain very fundamental elements of the traditional, or normative music lesson, are emphasized. Suzuki has articulated certain principles implied in the Western classical tradition. Furthermore, those authors delineating his philosophical approach have provided simplified directives for the purpose of accessibility, thus putting into relief, significant elements of the pedagogical process in a music lesson.

The ideological foundation and explicit nature of the Suzuki methodology articulate attitudes and values, thus providing a directive for my investigation, but this investigation is not confined to the written word for such an investigation would yield only partial evidence of musical enculturation. In order to provide a more comprehensive study, I will use these sources in relation to actual teaching events, for it

is the practitioners of the methodology who maintain it and make it possible. They are the individuals who are in part responsible for conserving the music tradition, by means of skill development and ideological orientation.

1.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The violin lesson is a social situation in which the individual is placed in an intensely structured learning environment. The formalized nature of the lesson, the physical discipline required to play the instrument, the exacting transmission of notated music, and the highly structured performance practice are factors which place behavioral constraints on the individual and considerably restrict his decision making in the music activity. Having said this, I will not try to locate within the ethnographic data a pre-determined situation in which the individual is little but a mere reflection of his social and cultural reality. The violin student is an agent, playing an integral role in the transmission of music, acting as receiver and as respondent to cultural information. In the lesson however, the boundaries of response are limited. The individual is bound by the music tradition and is thus accountable to the standards of the tradition.

In the next chapter, I will analyze the domain of teaching. The Suzuki violin lesson occurs in a formal setting and the teaching is a structured activity. Transmission that occurs in such an environment implies that access to music is controlled and thus limited to only those social actors who are able to participate as receptors of this information. I question how this structured teaching context affects the individual's participation in the music-making activity.

Chapter Three explores how formality is further expressed in the physical aspects of playing the violin. The student learns to use her body in a highly disciplined manner implying an embodiment of social order and control. The structure of the lesson thus not only affects the social interaction between actors, approved or disapproved behavior, but also the way in which the individual is taught disciplined movement and thought. But it is not only the formal domain of the lesson that affects how the student is taught to use their body. Shepherd and Vulliamy argue that the functional-tonal framework and the notational conception of music is

> expressive of a society with both a rigid hierarchy in terms of authority structure and with an epistemological divide between body and mind, subjective and objective, mental and physical (1983: 10).

Shepherd and Vulliamy are thus suggesting that the "music" itself is functioning like an ideology that affects how the body, especially as it relates to the music, is perceived. Although my goal is not to analyze music and culture from a structural homological perspective as these authors do, I agree that physical discipline in the violin lesson is directly related to the music, most notably to its professed autonomy.

In Chapter Four, I will examine the performance arena in which the violin student learns to participate. It is within this arena that a seemingly contradictory relationship exists between the valued ideology of individualism in Western thought and the conformity required of the student in the violin lesson. Students learn to be subservient to the score but correspondingly learn that in performance, it is individuality that is celebrated.

The process of teaching is defined by standards and historical precedents referred to as the "music tradition". The student's music activity is obviously determined to a great extent by what the teacher considers musically significant, which is in essence, defined by the tradition. Hobsbawm employs the term "invented tradition" to describe a "set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuation with the past" (1983: 1). While Hobsbawm's interest is historical (i.e. how does the historian deal with a past that is more ideological than actual) his notion of the "invented tradition" is relevant to this study. Within the music lesson, the teacher actively seeks to inculcate certain values systems, beliefs, conventions of behavior, that have seemingly emerged out of a "suitable historical past" (Hobsbawm 1983: 1). As will become apparent, the music "tradition" as such, creates a strong rationale for the structured learning environment. Furthermore, the ideology of "tradition" is used to "establish or legitimize institutions, status or relations of authority" (Hobsbawm 1983: 9) through the ritual aspects of performance and more profoundly through the "work concept" (Goehr 1992).

These chapters are an inquiry into the music tradition and its valorization of conservation. The music lesson is fertile ground for such a study, for as Nettl claims:

> a musical system, its style, its main characteristics, its structure, are all very closely associated with the particular way in which it is taught, as a whole and in its individual components (1983: 324).

It will become apparent that ensuring the continuation of the music tradition, both as practice and ideology, informs how the violin lesson is conducted. It is imperative that we critically examine this tradition, both the "set of practices" and the "accepted rules" that perpetuate and make it possible.

This ethnographic study began, and was inspired by questions I had about my own experiences as a violinist in the Western European art tradition, questions about the formality that accompanied the music, questions about the pressures associated with playing the music in perfect accordance with the score, questions about the conspicuous division between the body and the mind in music making.

Certainly my questioning was prompted by various authors who similarly reflected upon the music tradition and particularly their role as a participant within the tradition. Lydia Goehr asks questions about the music tradition having to do with preservation of the canon. She prefaces her book with questions about the listener, about the performer's lack of freedom to improvise with the music, about the audience's code of behavior and the restraining atmosphere that is part of the concert hall. Susan McClary similarly begins her feminist critique of Western art music practice with questions about meanings in music and the issues that are "hidden away by the [music] profession" (1992: 4). She expresses her discontent with the "structural analysis and empirical research" that is prevalent in musicological research and ventures forward into an area that is not only untouched but, in some opinions, of a pariah-like status. McClary asks some difficult questions about Western art music and the attitudes and practices that surround this music. In some ways she provides more questions than answers, but these questions have provoked many of us who are involved in music to examine our music tradition and certain values that are inherent in that tradition.

1.4 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE SUZUKI METHODOLOGY

Suzuki's tremendous constribution to music education was to a large extent, circumstantial. He was initially exposed to the violin when he went to work in his father's violin factory. He fell in love with the sound of the instrument and by his own initiative, he learned how to play. Eventually, due to his family's fortunate situation, Suzuki went to Europe where he was able to further his music education. When he returned to Japan, Suzuki intended to pursue a performance rather than a teaching

career, but realized there was a tremendous need for music teachers and moreover for educationists willing to dedicate themselves to the Japanese youth. Indeed, Suzuki's initial aim was to "give something" to the Japanese children after the devastation of World War II.

Near the end of the war, Suzuki organized the Yoji Kyoiku Doshikai (Group for Child Education), a general education center for young children (aged three to five) where he applied his particular teaching methodology in subjects such as Japanese pronunciation, calligraphy, English conversation and gymnastics. Suzuki employed this same methodology in his violin teaching at the Saino Kyoikiu Kenkyu-kai, also in Matsumoto. In 1952, 196 violin students graduated from this institute and in 1980, the number of students had reached 6000 (Shibata 1980). From 1964, Suzuki frequently visited the United States of America with his students, giving lectures and demonstrations. With the aid of certain individuals, his methodological ideas were disseminated throughout North America.

In 1965, Edmonton became the first Canadian city to set up a Suzuki based violin program. Thomas Rolston, professor of violin at the University of Alberta from 1958 to 1979, launched the program along with Yoko Oike, a student of Suzuki's who arrived in Canada in 1965. In 1966, two more students of Suzuki's arrived, Yasuko Tanaka and Tomoko Otsuka, to help Miss Oike teach approximately one hundred and forty students (others invited to teach for the Society for Talent Education outside of Edmonton were Jack Krajicek from England, Hong Youk Kim from Korea). Due to a parallel development in the United States, the Suzuki teaching approach was founded in other Canadian cities (London was another one of Canada's first cities to introduce the Suzuki teaching methodology and later, other cities included Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon, Vancouver, Vernon). By 1974, more than 600 Canadian students had been taught how to play the violin under the tutelage of a Suzuki-trained teacher. These first ten years are witness to the immediacy with which Suzuki's teaching method was embraced. Since 1974, there has continued to be a growing population of teachers, students and parents involved with the Suzuki methodology, attesting to the success of Suzuki's talent education program in Canada.

Suzuki approached teaching from a nurturing perspective, stressing the notion of developed as opposed to inherent talent.

> All human beings are born with great potentialities, and each individual has within

> himself, the capacity for developing to a very high level . . . Cultural sensitivity is not inherited, but is developed after birth. (Kendall 1978, quoting Shinichi Suzuki speaking at the 1958 National Festival in Tokyo).

The "mother tongue" approach is fundamental to Suzuki's philosophy. It is based on the way humans learn language - through listening, repetition and encouragement. Suzuki believed that a good environment is conducive to ability development, as in learning speech, and he applied this to his violin teaching. He reasoned that if children could learn the complexities of the Japanese language and be proficient by the age of three, there was no reason they could not learn the technical requirements needed to play the violin.

This nurturing element of the Suzuki method is further reflected in the expected involvement of the parent(s) who attend all lessons and act as home teachers. The "Suzuki" parent is taught how to play the violin during the student's first year in the program, so as to enable him/her to facilitate and correct the student's playing at home. As the student progresses, parent involvement gradually diminishes. From the beginning of the student's training, there is preparation for what is referred to as "weaning", a gradual move toward independence and self-reflection in the student's playing and practising.

A salient feature of Suzuki's teaching method is the compilation of music organized in a sequential manner, that each student is required to learn. The Suzuki student begins with "Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star" and its four variations. When this piece is "mastered" (played in a satisfactory manner), the student moves onto the next piece "Lightly Row", and so on in a sequential pattern from one piece to the next, through the assigned ten books.

The step-like progression of the required pieces is a conscious attempt to incorporate the technical skills of playing into the music (as opposed to additional exercises such as scales and studies). For example "Long Long Ago" is the seventh song in Suzuki Violin Book One and is the first piece in which the student is required to use the D string and thus there is particular attention paid to the string crossing from A to D.

Many of the beginning pieces are German folk songs, or compositions of Suzuki's. Three of Bach's Minuets, at the end of Book One, serve as an introduction to Suzuki's favorite composers, a selection based strongly in the European art music canon. The

selection is conceived as being vital to the student's music education. The prominent composers are Bach, Corelli, Handel, Vivaldi and Mozart. As the student progresses, the teacher may introduce supplemental music to the Suzuki books, but the music chosen by Suzuki is considered not only important but central to the student's music education. As Suzuki exclaims with regard to J.S. Bach's "Minuet 1", "the child's musical education begins with this Minuet, with Bach as music teacher" (Starr 1976: 91).

Aural skills are developed in the early years much more than are reading skills. This is partly due to Suzuki's belief in starting the child's music training in the pre-school years using the "mother-tongue" approach described above. As Thomas Rolston exclaims, "they [the students] learn the music in much the same way as they learn to speak. First they learn the language, and later on they learn to read" (Edmonton Journal, December 15, 1972, pp. 2). However, more than a simple progression, it is argued that by not having to read music notation in the beginning stages of learning, the student is not distracted from attending to accurate intonation, tonalization of the instrument (quality of sound) and precise positioning of the body. Once the student feels comfortable holding and playing the violin, they are taught to read music in conjunction with playing the instrument. Students have been taught from the beginning of their training to recognize note names and time values as represented in notated form. This recognition is then applied to longer passages of music that are organized as sight reading exercises. Although the student is capable of reading music at a relatively early stage, they continue to learn the assigned music in the Suzuki Books through listening and imitation, with reference to the score.

From early on in a student's training, Suzuki believes the student must attend to the "quality of sound" produced, even if the size of his instrument is small and the sound production from that instrument, equally small. According to Suzuki, "there is a good tone for each level of [the student's] development" (Starr 1976: 39). The student is at first encouraged to play with a heavy bow stroke and as the student refines his handling of the bow, he learns to move it at different speeds and to control its placement in relation to the fingerboard and bridge of the violin.[5] Suzuki considers "tonalization" to

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5 Suzuki refers to the method of bowing nearer to the bridge of the violin in order to produce a loud tone, as the "Kreisler highway". Kreisler (b.1875 d.1962) was an American violinist of Austrian birth, noted for his unique tone production: "Though not very large, his tone had unequalled carrying power because his bow applied just

be one of the most important elements in a student's training, not only for technical reasons but because he believes the student is able to express his "inner soul" through "musical" playing.

Today the Suzuki methodology is perhaps one of the most prevalent standardized teaching method in Canada. This may be due to the high success rate of the methodology in the sense that the students who are trained in the Suzuki program are able to play the violin in a culturally approved and pleasing manner. Certainly the proficiency of Suzuki's students was what drew the attention of the North American community in 1964 (Cook 1970, Keraus 1973, Herrmann 1981, Suzuki 1969a, 1969b). In conjunction with the proven reliability of the methodology however, Suzuki's philosophical notions have perhaps been an equally attractive feature. Suzuki is an individual who has devoted much of his life to promoting his philosophy about art and developed abilities. His unique and very humanistic approach to teaching music has seemingly appealed to individuals equally devoted to developing within the child certain of Suzuki's ideals, of "becoming a whole, well rounded human being" (Suzuki 1969a: 37). Suzuki claims that music making is a means of "building character", to "make [the student] splendid in mind and heart" (Suzuki 1969a: 15). While this study is not an exploration of Suzuki's philosophy and its impact on music pedagogy, such philosophical ideals are a fundamental aspect of the Suzuki methodology and must be noted to appreciate the context of the lessons observed and the attitudes of those individuals involved.

1.5 METHOD AND TECHNIQUE

I will engage in this study from an ethnomusicological perspective. Ethnomusicology has been predominantly a study of non-Western music. It was once defined as "the science that deals with the music of peoples outside of Western civilization" (Nettl 1956: 1) and for this the discipline has been criticized and described as "a colonial quest of the Western bourgeoisie", a quest for "exoticism" (Middleton 1990: 146). Ethnomusicology has developed and broadened and the ethnocentricity has been challenged by scholars who define the discipline and use it as a method of study (Merriam 1964, Blacking 1973). As a method as opposed to an area of study, it is

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enough pressure without suppressing the natural vibrations of the strings . . . There is hardly a violinist in our century who has not acknowledged admiration of and indebtedness to Kreisler" (Schwarz 1980: 250).

applicable to the study of any music, any "humanly organized sound" (Blacking 1973). In an effort to draw upon insights from ethnomusicological studies, Leppert and McClary (1987) state that although the "findings of ethnomusicology" have been concerned with "*other* cultures", there has been an attempt by scholars, both historical musicologists and ethnomusicologists, to "break down the methodological gap between Western musicology and ethnomusicology by demonstrating how Western music, classical and popular alike, is as dependent on social structures and practices as in any other music" (emphasis original, 1987: xviii). My endeavour thus to analyze Western art music from an "ethnomusicological" perspective, contributes to the ongoing attempts to connect the discipline of musicology with that of ethnomusicology.

The focus of ethnomusicology has not always been clearly articulated for the discipline was somewhat divided between those scholars who analyzed sounds and those who analyzed the social and cultural features of music making (Seeger 1992). No doubt remnants of this divisiveness remain. This aspect of the discipline however, has been critically examined by scholars who have attempted to reconcile the sound system with its social and cultural context (Blacking 1973, Feld 1985, Qureshi 1987, Seeger 1987a). To make such a reconciliation, ethnographic investigation has been adopted, for it is a means by which one is able to understand the "specific interfacing of context with music" (Qureshi 1987: 57).

Engaging in an ethnographic investigation involves participating (and observing) in the actual context in which music is being made. It is used to test theories and "understand people's music in terms appropriate to them" (Qureshi 1987: 56). Underlying this humanistic approach is the desire to get at the significance of both the musical sounds and the actors' involvement with those sounds: to gain "an understanding of the dynamic that motivates the production of music" (Qureshi 1987: 56). Seeger defines ethnography of music as a "descriptive approach to music going beyond the writing down of sounds to the writing down of how sounds are conceived, made, appreciated and influence other individuals, groups, and social and musical processes" (1992: 89). Qureshi and Seeger both claim that an ethnographic account is an examination of the relationship music has to its social life, an attempt to "discover the way music is used and the meanings it is given by members of the community" (Seeger 1992: 101). In reference to this ethnography of the violin lesson, I have attempted to uncover the cultural meanings that are part of the music and music making activity by analyzing the process of transmission.

Investigating the way in which people learn music is perhaps one of the most fruitful routes for gaining an understanding of music in its cultural and social context. For scholars who intend to study music as both a reflection and active part of a culture, the teaching and learning process is an obvious place to begin, for as outsiders to the culture, they themselves are new students (Berliner 1978, Blacking 1973, Merriam 1964, Nettl 1989, Neuman 1980). The enculturative function of Western art music has received little scholarly attention, not surprisingly, for ethnomusicologists have generally engaged in fieldwork outside of Western culture and Western musicological scholarship has been little concerned with the sociological or cultural context in which music exists. Nevertheless, I hope to demonstrate that the Western violin lesson is an ideal site in which to investigate cultural values (referred to often in the lesson as musical values) for the teacher's goal is to define such values (whether consciously or not) and make them understandable to the student.

In my attempt to study the teaching process in a Western music context, I referred to Blacking's counsel: that "no musical style has 'its own terms': its terms are the terms of its society and culture, and of the bodies of the human beings who listen to it, and create and perform it" (1973: 25). I analyzed the lesson context and actor's behavior not as the natural context for learning music nor as typical music behavior but as culturally defined and socially discovered. Such an intention may seem straightforward, but as I discovered, it was difficult to observe with any critical capacity a setting with which I was so familiar. Judith Posner, an anthropologist who did her fieldwork in a nursing home in the city in which she lived, claims that "to become a complete observer . . . in your own society is quite different from attempting to be an observer elsewhere" (1980: 204). Posner maintains that there is the possibility, because of the familiarity with the setting, that elements may pass unnoticed.

As with Posner, when I first began my observations of the music lessons, I could not detect any components of the event as significant. Having been a former violin student for fifteen years and a present violin teacher, the setting was too familiar. However, after attending several lessons and making copious, and rather disorganized fieldnotes of whatever I observed, I began to notice patterns and to question those patterns. In addition, I began to feel more comfortable in my role as participant observer and felt as though I was developing rapport with the teacher, parents and students. Mixed with

this growing sense of accomplishment however, were feelings of guilt for uncovering 'hidden' cultural attitudes, values, beliefs. Moreover, as I myself had been so strongly enculturated into the Western art music tradition, my claims often appeared to be contrived notions that seemed more imaginative than real. I had to look very deep to find what hidden assumptions I had.

The ethnographic research was done in Edmonton, Alberta in 1992-1993. As mentioned above, Edmonton was the first Canadian city to introduce the Suzuki teaching methodology and now has an organized group of trained teachers under the name Society for Talent Education. My observations were of violin lessons conducted in a private home and studio, and while there are other learning situations in which the student is involved (home practice sessions, group lessons and orchestral rehearsals), the private lesson provides a context that is most conducive to examining music transmission.

Observations of the violin lessons were generally conducted on Wednesdays (5:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.) and Thursdays (2:30 P.M. to 7:30 P.M.) for a period of four months. I chose Wednesdays and Thursdays to do my observations because there was a varied age range and skill level amongst the students. The majority of my observation was of one particular teacher who was the artistic coordinator of the Society for Talent Education (S.T.E.). She had spent a year in Japan studying with Shin'ichi Suzuki and had been herself one of the early Canadian students to be trained in the Suzuki violin method.

On Wednesdays, I observed three students in the teacher's home. The first student was in Book One (aged seven years, female) and her mother and sister were always present. The mother was a music educator and interjected often during the lesson, explaining why her daughter was not able to practice a certain piece, or what "they" had particularly worked on in the home practice sessions. The next lessons involved a family with four children, two of which had their lessons on Wednesdays (aged seven and nine years, males) and both parents alternating as observers. This was a unique situation for often the entire family was present (including the two younger siblings) for at least part of the lesson time, generally creating a great deal of movement and noise.

On Thursdays, I observed lessons of seven students in a studio located at S.T.E. This room was larger than the home setting and there were fewer distractions. The first two

lessons involved two brothers (aged five and eight) whose mother and baby sister were in accompaniment. The younger brother was just beginning lessons when I started my observations. The older brother had been taking lessons in Ontario and had transferred to the Edmonton teacher one year before the observation period.

Following, there were two consecutive lessons of advanced students (female), aged sixteen and fifteen. These students had completed the "Suzuki" repertoire and perceived themselves as "graduates" of the Suzuki program. The format of these two lessons differed in many ways from the other lessons I observed. For example, in both lessons there were no parents or siblings present, there was no customary bow to begin and end the lessons, music was often read from the score. Thus in many respects, these two lessons were similar to a "traditional" music lesson.

After these advanced students, came the lesson of an eight year old student (female), whose mother was always present, along with two sisters who were enrolled in the Suzuki viola and cello program. This student was in Suzuki Book Three and this was her second year with this teacher. The final two lessons of the day involved two brothers, aged five and nine, the younger was in Book One and was in the second year of taking violin lessons. The older brother was in Book Three and had been transferred to this teacher two years earlier.

Observation work is often enhanced by interviews with participants. The interview is a means of gaining information about the individual's conception of the collective and formalized event and their own relation to the event. Being a communicative and social event, the information gathered is situational and particular. The "report of an informant about his [her] behavior is itself behavior" (Birdwhistell 1970: 191) and the information gathered is dependent on the subjective interpretation of the individual conducting the interview. The interview itself "shapes the form and content of what is said" (Briggs 1990: 22), meaning the information is, to an extent, determined by the interviewer's questions and is a means of validating viewpoints. I am not dismissing the interview, rather I am pointing out its character and some of its limitations as an ethnographic resource. During the course of my research, I did not engage in formal interviews in the sense that Birdwhistell refers to. I talked to some of the participants whom I observed, within the context of the lesson (before or after the lesson period). I also talked to certain individuals who participated in the Edmonton Suzuki String Institute. I used these conversations to gain insight into the Suzuki method and

philosophy, however I did not use this tool in a formal or comprehensive manner.

Apart from the observation work and informal interviews, I relied on many written sources to instill and confirm ideas and new conceptions. I found comparative studies of the transmission process in other cultures useful, for I was able to question my own assumptions and gain insight into the music lesson of the Western European tradition. There has not been much scholarly attention paid to music transmission, thus I found myself relying on the few who have addressed this issue: John Blacking's study of the Venda children's songs, Bruno Nettl's comparative studies of music enculturation employing the Blackfoot, Iranian and Western cultures, Timothy Rice's account of Bulgarian music education, Thomas Turino's study of the rural and urban Conimenos in Peru. These studies helped for purposes of comparison and reflection on the processes of teaching and learning music but I needed to do more than compare the differences between "them" and "us".

In order to comprehend more fully the cultural attitudes and values that are implicit in the violin lesson I referred to authors who have specifically addressed the social, political and ideological foundations of the Western art music tradition (Bergeron 1992, Blacking 1973, Citron 1992, Goehr 1992, Keil 1966, 1987, Kingsbury 1988, 1991, McClary 1992, Nettl 1989b, Shepherd 1983, 1991, Small 1977, 1987, Subotnik 1992, Weber 1977, 1984). Furthermore, in order to ease my doubts about investigating hidden or implied cultural values within a tradition that I myself had been enculturated into, I relied on those scholars who have laid the groundwork for deciphering cultural meaning in what often appear to be the mundane or common events (Douglas 1970, 1978, Goffman, 1963, 1967,1986, Geertz 1973), those "consummate metaphysician[s] of the banal" (reference to Erving Goffman made by Bennett Berger, in Goffman 1986).

Finally, I want to say a word about how the methods and techniques used in ethnographic studies often appear to simplify a cultural event. Merriam provides a definition of technique as the "details of data gathering in the field", and a definition of method as the "theoretical basis through which field technique is oriented" (1964: 39). As I have stated, the technique used for this ethnographic study was primarily participant observation. My theoretical basis was built on an ethnomusicological framework, allowing for the study of the cultural, social and historical contexts that define and are related to the music. Although Merriam's dichotomous description of

the field worker's "tools" lends itself to a simple breakdown of this study, the complexity of analyzing how humans are taught to express themselves is not being denied. Any ethnography is as Geertz claims "intrinsically incomplete and the more deeply it goes the less complete it is" (1973: 29). Similarly Crapanzano states that "reductionism is the antithesis of good anthropology and human psychoanalysis. Anthropology should, I believe, lead us to question, not to confirm our own presumptions" (1980: xiv). This is certainly not a comprehensive description of how violinists learn how to play, nor one of the Suzuki methodology. I aim to do a "microscopic" study of a violin teaching method and to "generalize" within that study (Geertz 1973), in order to encourage critical reflection of and event and to relay the cultural significance inherent in that event.

Chapter Two

Defining the Lesson

2.1 THE MUSIC LESSON

Sophia, a young violin student, approximately age 5, enters the room in which her weekly lesson is to take place, accompanied by her mother and baby brother. There arrival is timed so that Sophia has an opportunity to observe part of the preceding student's lesson. It is 3:45 P.M. on a Wednesday afternoon and the lesson will last for thirty minutes. I am seated in the far left corner of the room; my role as observer is barely acknowledged by any of the actors. The teacher is seated against the right hand wall and when the acting student's lesson ends, informal greetings are passed between Sophia's mother and teacher, and between Sophia and the teacher. Sophia has taken her violin out of the case and stands in front of the teacher, in view of her mother. When Sophia is ready, the teacher tunes Sophia's violin and then hands the instrument back. Both teacher and student bow towards each other, marking the official beginning of the lesson.

Sophia is asked to play a piece she has been working on in her home practice session. The song is "May Song", a German folk song from Suzuki Violin Book One. Sophia does not need any notation to play it for she has learned the song from memory by listening to a Suzuki cassette at home. The teacher listens to Sophia's playing without interruption. When she has completed the piece, the teacher asks Sophia to play it again, but this time, she interrupts her playing to correct her bow control. Sophia is directed to do an exercise quite separate from the music. The teacher tells Sophia how many times she must repeat the exercises each day in her home practice session. Isolated segments of the song are then chosen and worked on until they are precise and the bow control has improved. Sophia may play the song again without interruptions, and words of encouragement from the teacher follow.

Sophia is then asked to play other pieces, perhaps one or two that are relatively new, or else an old one for the purpose of review, depending on what the teacher deems necessary. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Suzuki books contain chosen pieces, each with a technical focus. By reviewing music that is familiar, the student is able to attend to particular aspects of playing, such as refining tone production, without the distractions that accompany learning new music. If the teacher asks Sophia to play

a new piece, it is assumed that Sophia has been listening to a recording of it at home and is prepared to play at least a segment of the piece for memory. The teacher may introduce a new playing technique that will be required to play the piece.

Near the end of Sophia's allotted lesson time, another student comes into the room and waits quietly at the side. Often the two students will play a piece together and there is overlap between the lesson times. This is an example of an implied aspect of the teaching process being made explicit by Suzuki methodologists, and in this case, an aspect that is considered to necessitate reflection and change. An attempt is made to move away from the separation characteristic of the traditional music lesson, by overlapping the students' lesson times and encouraging observation and ensemble playing.

Soon after this overlap period, the teacher signals that it is time for the closing bow with Sophia (and simultaneously the opening bow with the new student). Sophia puts the violin in her case and prepares to leave the room with her mother and brother. The next student, in the meantime, has moved to the learning space in front of the teacher.

2.2 DOMAIN OF TEACHING

This example is not based on one occasion, but on various lesson events of different students. I use it to describe the setting in which violin playing is taught. The lesson occurs as an event in which "processes of teaching and learning [are] carried on at specific times, in particular places outside the home, for definite periods, by persons especially prepared or trained for the task" (Merriam 1964: 146). The violin lesson is not integrated with other social occasions but is a separate and formal teaching situation. It is publicly recognized as the legitimate context for teaching the violin, as the "way to teach" (Nettl 1985b: 69). There is agreement that the information being transmitted is valid and that a structured event is necessary in order to avoid indeterminacy in the learning process.

This is quite a different teaching situation than that of the Venda of South Africa. As Blacking states:

> Most Venda children are competent musicians: they can sing and dance to traditional melodies, and many can play at least one musical instrument. And yet they have no formal musical training. (1967: 29).

Blacking's reference to formal training does not signify that teaching is absent but that it does not occur as a structured event. The Venda child is always present at performances, either strapped to their mother's back while she dances or when older, dancing and drumming along with the adults. Unlike our own society in which music-making is separated from other social events, "music and dancing [in Venda society] permeate every social activity from youth to old age, and no one is excluded from performances" (1967: 32). Venda children learn music through imitating adults and other children and if there are any mistakes, they are corrected by more experienced musicians.

Similarly in Bulgaria, Rice claims that music learning traditionally occurred without active teaching but that everyone still had a degree of musical competence due to music's social context, for music making was the "main way that young men and women present[ed] themselves publicly to each other" (1984: 118).

Nettl describes the way in which the Blackfoot learn songs, not through a formalized teaching process, but through visions, often a "dangerous, awesome event", a "transfer of power or important knowledge" (1989a: 101). Learning songs in the Blackfoot culture is not done in a "laborious or gradual fashion" (1989a: 103). According to Nettl's interpretation of what the Blackfoot believe, "white music is something innately man-made . . . Indian music, also human but tied to the supernatural, consists of units that come to humans suddenly, from another level of existence . . . [having] an existence outside of the realm of everyday life" (1989a: 103).

Each of the above examples contrasts with the teaching conditions of the music lesson in our own society. The Venda and Bulgarian examples point to the integration of the music activities (and thus music learning) with other social activities. The Blackfoot's highlighted and vision-bound learning process is not connected as strongly to everyday life, but nor is it limited to the mere transfer of musical information and skills. The Blackfoot teaching context is more about a spiritual and social existence than a musical one. In contrast, the violin lesson is purposely not integrated with other social activities.

Suzuki criticized this aspect of the lesson, claiming that music must be an integral part of the child's environment and that learning must be generated from the child's

"spontaneous play". Nevertheless, the Suzuki violin lesson remains a formal event, binding the actors to a structured learning environment and definitive role behaviour. As will become more apparent, this element of the music lesson reflects how the music itself is perceived, as autonomous, essentially unrelated to any distinct social context (i.e. the purpose for the event is to make music).

2.3 DEFINING FORMALITY

Prior to analyzing further how the lesson event is made formal and what implications are thus entailed, I want to provide an accurate definition of formality for it connotes many different things.

Webster's dictionary defines formal as that which is based on conventional forms and rules, that which is ceremonious and prim. In describing the rehearsal as a social setting, Koskoff defines a formal context as that "involving conscious, attentive, directed learning . . . [a] focus on improving skills" (1988: 59). Herndon defines a formal performance event as an organized program of activity, as well-defined with respect to place, time and participants (1971: 339).

While these definitions are relevant to defining the violin lesson, they are not good enough. Is a formal event that which has all or even any of the factors defined by Koskoff and Herndon? What do "conventional" and "ceremonious" mean? Does a formal occasion stand in direct contrast to an informal one or is there more of a continuum ranging from absolute informality to absolute formality (Irvine 1979)?

Irvine (1979), in search of a more exacting and usable definition of formality, specifies four aspects that she believes contribute to defining a situation as formal: increased code structuring, code consistency, positional identities and emergence of a situational focus. Irvine's research is based in sociolinguistics but the guidelines she provides are helpful in picking out what exactly constitutes the violin lesson as a formal social situation.

In comparison to everyday speech, the linguistic code used in the violin lesson is not any more structured or rule conscious. The teacher and student address one another by their first names and there are no patterned expressions used for the benefit of structuring discourse. However, code is not limited to language and as Irvine points out, there are codes that organize behaviour. Behaviour in the music lesson is

formalized in the sense that the teacher, student, parent, observer behave according to role expectations. I will further develop this point in a more detailed description of the teacher and student's roles in the lesson context.

Code consistency, the second aspect of formality, again derives from linguistic studies but can be directed at the consistency of activity in which participants display a degree of "seriousness" and involvement in a situation (Irvine 1979: 777). Certainly the teacher and parent behave consistently in the lesson, redirecting any silliness that young children may indulge in. From the official beginning and ending of the lesson, there is a consistency in tone.

The third element of Irvine's definition of formality has to do with the positional identities of the actors. This aspect of Irvine's definition is especially relevant because it describes the "property of the situation" rather than the code (Irvine 1979: 778). Specific social identities are invoked in accordance with the situation. In the lesson the teacher is given authority and the student is the receptor of that authority. The parent is to observe and take notes of what the student is learning so as to give direction in the home, but she has minimal authority in the actual lesson. The emphasis in a formal occasion is on social distance and respect, so that when the lesson has begun, the student stands still in front of the teacher, listening and complying with the instruction.

The last defining aspect of formality is the "emergence of a central situational focus" (Irvine 1979: 779). In the violin lesson the central activity and actors are differentiated from peripheral action and actors. Activity in the violin lesson is regulated so as to disallow any interference with the task at hand. The teacher directs the lesson, and the student and parent are restricted by this direction. From the moment the student and parent enter the room, the teacher is given, and takes, the leading role allowing personal information to be discussed at the beginning and end of the lesson, mostly by asking questions. Irvine refers to the central focus as being the "main sequence" (1979: 779) and in order to stay in the main sequence, constraints are placed on behaviour and speech.

The teacher explicitly directs the lesson events but is equally constrained by the system's norms. The consecutive steps for instructing an individual how to hold the instrument, how to play the music, how to behave in performance are provided by an implied curriculum. In a sense, the "central situational focus" comes from a standard

which the teacher wants to satisfy and must satisfy in order to be considered successful.

Goffman similarly analyzes the structured event with special interest in the individuals' tendency to conform. He defines a formal or informal event according to the involvement required of the actors. He claims that regulations present in social occasions exist along a kind of continuum, ranging in the degree of discipline and respect the individual is obligated to express openly. Goffman prefers to use the terms "tightness" and "looseness" to formality and informality and bases his definitions on how involved an individual is required to be in a particular situation. The tight situation has participants doing "onerous situational" activities, the loose situation is relatively free of constraints (1963: 207). The violin lesson is essentially a "tight" occasion in which the student, teacher and parent are required to "show constant orientation" and "respect for the gathering" (Goffman 1963: 199).

Having defined the lesson as a formal or "tight" event, it is important to investigate this in relation to the student, and how he learns orientation, respect, and "positional identity", in other words, how structure defines the student's role. In my attempt to do this, I simplify a rather complex event and organize it into three observable components that contribute to its "formalization": the ordering of events, the ordering of space, and the directed instruction of the teacher. I will explore these components with reference to the Suzuki violin lesson and will attempt to uncover how this formal way of teaching affects the individual, her role as student and ultimately as musician.

2.4 LOOKING AGAIN AT THE MUSIC LESSON

In my role as observer and one who was well acquainted with the proceedings of a violin lesson, I attempted to take up what Nettl refers to as the "martian's" point of view (1989b: 2), to try and analyze the lesson as a feigned outsider, one "who has the task of discerning the basics of Western art music culture" (1989b: 3). I found myself referring to the few accounts of how music is transmitted in other societies: to Blacking's ethnography of the Venda, to Nettl's comparative study of the Blackfoot composing and learning process. One element that seemed the most obvious in contrast to these ethnographies, was the violin lesson's structured order of activity and space. Such structuring appeared to be a result of the teacher's explicit direction. Students did not make suggestions but waited for what the teacher requested and generally complied

with whatever was asked. I will expand on the roles of the teacher and student in relation to the structured event but prior to doing so, I want to describe the ordered activity and space of the lesson as a foundational preamble.

2.4.1 The Ordering of Activity

As mentioned above, the Suzuki lesson officially begins with a silent bow. This has been carried over from the Japanese tradition as a sign of mutual respect between teacher and student. Eisler, in discussing how the Japanese method was transplanted into the "American way of life", claims that the bow is now not only a sign of "reciprocal courtesy" but early training for performance, a "greeting to the audience" (1993: 23). In the context of the lesson, whether for respect or training, the bow signifies both the opening and closing of the lesson. With the marked beginning, the teacher directs the focus of all participants onto the student's playing.

Once the lesson has "officially" begun, there is discouragement of any interruptions that will distract the student from the "central situational focus" (Irvine 1979: 779). Susan Shields, an American Suzuki teacher, claims that "there's a definite format to the lesson . . . sometimes a child will try to say something during the lesson, and I tell him, 'Tell me after the lesson is over' . . . eventually children learn not to talk during the lesson, and it helps them concentrate on violin" (Starr 1976: 24-25). Not only are the teacher's directives a reminder of the lesson's focus, but the format itself promotes concentration and involvement.

The teacher asks the student to begin with a piece of music, generally one that the student has been "working on" in the most recent lessons, and in the home practice sessions. The teacher does not interrupt the student, waiting until the end of the piece to comment on what needs to be corrected. The teacher will generally choose an aspect of the student's playing and use it to direct the focus of the lesson. In order to create this focus, the teacher asks the student to play the beginning of the piece again and stops him with a comment or with physical contact, perhaps taking the student's bow off the string or touching their left hand fingers. If the teacher chooses to attend to a technical correction, the student is taught a specific exercise confined usually to the left or right hand, arm or shoulder. Depending on the age of the student, the exercise may be explained to the parent for the purpose of the home practice session.

After the teacher is confident that the student understands the exercise, there is an

apparent change in activity that signals the concluding segment of the lesson. A review piece may be chosen by the teacher, allowing the student to play a piece of music that she has played many times in earlier lessons and one that is usually considered by the teacher and student as "simple" in comparison to the pieces that have preceded. As such, the student is able to concentrate on the previous technical correction. This choice is also sometimes based on the need to counterbalance the student's frustration that has built up from having to concentrate on minute physical exercises. At this time, the teacher may also take the opportunity to introduce a new piece in order to explain fingerings, bowings or difficult passages that the student will encounter in the music and then assign those passages for the student to practice at home. The last directed segment in the lesson is often an exercise in sight reading or ensemble playing with another student. In both cases, the focus is not on the individual's competence in playing, but is a chance for the student to enjoy playing through the music with others and with few interruptions.

As mentioned in the opening example, while the student's lesson is in progress, another student will enter the room, sit down and observe the proceedings. This is a unique aspect of the Suzuki lesson. The students are encouraged to observe the lessons of other students and the private lesson, at least a segment of it, becomes a "public affair" (Starr 1976: 10). The teacher concludes the lesson in some manner, usually with verbal instruction, and this acts as a cue for all participants. Often discussions ensue, creating an informal social gathering, prior to the first student's (and accompanying parent/sibling) departure.

What is occurring in the lesson is what Goffman describes as the "involvement contour", a "line tracing the rise and fall of general engrossment in the occasion's main activity" (1963: 18). From the marked beginning to the end of the lesson, the participants are made to involve themselves in mind, spirit and body, although the most intense instruction and concentration is required soon after the lesson has begun, while the student is still "fresh". After this intensity has been reached, there is slow decline in required involvement. Especially for the younger children, attention wanes as the lesson proceeds and this seems acceptable so long as the teacher is able to draw their attention back to their playing or positions on the violin and bow. For example, the young student of three or four years of age may be allowed to lay her head on the parent's lap but only for a moment. Soon after this act of withdrawal, the student is directed to once again focus on the task at hand.

Not all lessons are ordered in exactly the manner I have described, but my goal is not to present a blueprint that the teacher systematically uses. Rather, I am drawing attention to a general pattern of involvement that is used to structure the activity of participants.

2.4.2 The Ordering of Space

The ordered activity in which the violin lesson is organized is contextualized by the space in which the lesson occurs. The lesson space is a physical representation of order that further encourages focused involvement of the actors. The space is arranged so as to separate the immediate participants (teacher, student, parent) from others, myself included. The room is arranged into what I will refer to as areas: the teacher-student area, the parent area and the onlookers area. The centrality of the teaching space differentiates it from the rest of the room. The parent(s) sat on the edge of this space involved either as observer(s) or direct participant(s), depending on the age and playing level of the student. Outside of this space was the peripheral area. Other siblings and observers (such as myself) were required to sit silently on the side and not interfere.

As an actor on the outer periphery, I observed others who shared my position. Mostly I was joined by other students awaiting their lesson time, or children observing their siblings. These children would occasionally move over to where the parent was sitting and were sometimes asked to move away from the teaching space if the parent felt their behaviour was distracting. The student being taught, stood throughout the lesson in a defined area, directly in front of the teacher, and movement away from there was discouraged. If the student did move away from the space, that movement was directed and controlled by the teacher.

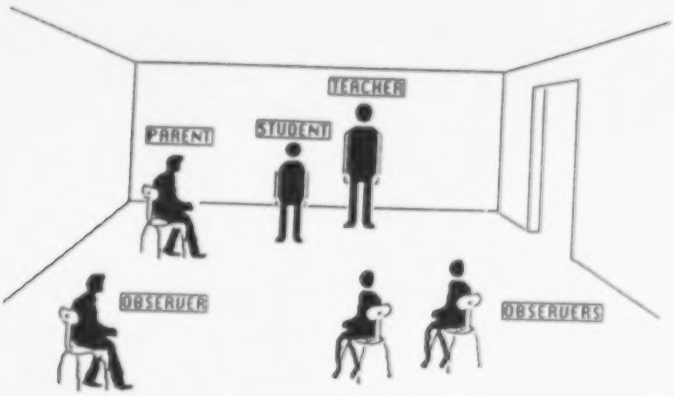

Diagram 1.[6]

One particular example illustrates this structuring of space in the music lesson. The student, whom I will name Richard, began his lesson standing in front of the teacher and remained fairly stationary for the rest of his lesson (approximately 45 minutes). When he was finished and his violin had been put away, he moved out of that space and began to play with a baby sitting at the edge of the room while his brother assumed the role of student. Richard became increasingly active and began to roll on the floor and make forward jumping movements towards the baby. He was reprimanded by the teacher after ten or fifteen minutes of this disruptive activity. He stopped immediately and sat quietly on the couch for the remainder of the other student's lesson. For Richard it seemed that there was a defined space in which teaching took place and as soon as he left that area, he felt there was no longer a need to remain still or even more obviously, to participate as a student. The arrangement of the teaching space represents structure, contributing to the definition of roles and further clarifying the social interaction allowed.

As mentioned above, the violin lesson occurs in a closed and separated space and it is not integrated with any other social events.[7] This separation implies controlled access to the music, limiting it to few able participants. The Venda provide once again an example of a different situation, offering insight into our own cultural values (Blacking 1967). The Venda children are not involved in separate teaching events but learn music

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[6] Correction to the diagram: the teacher most often is seated in the lessons, although he will regularly stand up to demonstrate or to correct the student's playing.

[7] The Suzuki lesson is described by Suzuki pedagogues as a "social" event in that social interaction of participants in between lessons, at concerts, in group lessons, is encouraged. However, these events are not integrated with other events. By using the expression "social event" in the text above, I am referring to an situation where making music is not the primary activity, but merely part of the event.

in various social situations. The songs are "rarely sung for their own sake", rather they are sung to add meaning to a social event, "crystalliz[ing] and confirm[ing] certain norms of behaviour" and bringing people together in the "expression of common sentiments" (Blacking 1967: 29). Furthermore, Blacking claims that knowing songs as a child is a "social asset" and even a "social necessity" if the child wants to be accepted as a member of her age group. Music among the Venda is thus not limited to a few, but is accessible to all. Nor is the music separated from other social events but is often an indispensable component of the social activity. As Blacking states, "music and dancing permeate every social activity from youth to old age, and no one is excluded from performances" (1967: 32).

In contrast, the enclosed space in which the violin lesson occurs, creates a situation of inaccessibility and exclusivity. There are only a limited number of children who have access to the teaching and this access is largely granted in exchange for money. Small (1987) analyzes admission to a music event in his description of symphony concert: "it is important to ensure that only those entitled to attend [the symphony concert] do so, and the passing of money is a symbol of entitlement" (1987: 8). And so it is with the violin lesson in which the "passing of money" ensures a means of controlling who has access to the teaching. The lessons are paid for on a monthly basis and this payment is either taken care of in the administration office by someone other than the teacher, or a direct payment is made to the teacher by the parent. The exchange of money can be loosely described as a hidden exchange in that it is not part of the lesson event and often occurs in a separated area.

Access which is created through spatial separation and controlled through the exchange of money determines who is eligible to take part in the formal lesson. Resulting from this access, and subsequently non-access, is the defining role of musician, and also that of non-musician. A belief in Western European culture that "not all people are musical, and that some are more musical than others" (Blacking 1973: 9) is perpetuated by this situation.[8] Indeed, music education is not limited to the formal lesson, but occurs in the home, through television and film, in the church, temple, synagogue. The music

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[8] Suzuki challenges this notion of natural musicality (also defined as talent). I will refer to this again in Chapter 4. At this point, I want to suggest that the lesson is a separate event and indeed exclusive. Whether or not it is believed that all individuals are equally capable of being "musical" is not relevant, for it is access to the learning that is being analyzed.

lesson, however, is one means of institutionalizing music education, thus separating those individuals who are trained musicians (and thus "real" musicians) and those who are not.

2.4.3 The Role of the Teacher

I have so far described the violin lesson as a formalized and controlled event. The involvement of participants is directed (even denied) by the ordering of activity and space. The one responsible for this direction is the teacher, controlling the "involvement contour" (Goffman 1963: 18) and interaction of participants. The teacher is similar to what Goffman refers to as a "guardian", one who keeps order and directs the social activity (1963: 210). More than being overseer of the social occasion however, the teacher is involved in directed instruction and is not just a role model as among the Venda described above. I will briefly summarize how the teaching style further contributes to the formalization of the lesson.

The manner of teaching emphasized in Suzuki's philosophy is one of encouragement and positive reinforcement. Suzuki stresses the need to nurture the child's innate ability and desire to learn. This nurturing ideally begins in the home and as such places much of the responsibility with the parents. The lesson occurs once a week and the teacher's role is to guide the student (and parent), introducing the technical aspects of playing, "musical" ideas, and correcting the student's (and parent's) mistakes.

The Suzuki teacher is often specially trained. Within the North American context, workshops are offered, introducing the basic philosophy and pedagogical directives. I attended a Suzuki workshop in the summer of 1993 in which individuals were trained to teach beginning violinists. Formulating lesson plans and how to teach the mechanics of playing were the areas of focus. The Society for Talent Education has a training program for teachers in order to maintain a standard and ensure that the "Suzuki" name is not being used within S.T.E. by someone unaware of what the teaching method entails.

The Suzuki teaching style is based on a defined transmission of musical information. The teacher is responsible for skill and technical development and for developing within the student an understanding of the music's style and a working knowledge of the Western classical music tradition. I have categorized four types of teaching which encompass much of what I observed in the Suzuki lesson: teaching by imitation,

physical intervention, redirection and metaphor.

Imitation is what Merriam describes as "perhaps the simplest and most undifferentiated form of music learning" (1964: 146). Similarly Herndon and McLeod claim that "teaching by example" is the "commonest type" found in other world music traditions (1981: 59). Imitation is consistently used in the Suzuki lesson to teach the students difficult or abstract concepts. The teacher plays a passage in the music, or makes a specific sound on the violin and the student is expected to copy the teacher's playing and to create the same sound on his own violin. This is considered to be a continuation of the repeated listening to the assigned cassettes that the student is required to do at home.

At times, this method of teaching is used not only to illustrate the desirable in playing but what defines the opposite. For example, in the lesson of an intermediate student, age nine, the teacher was attempting to explain the distribution of the bow along the string and the importance of saving the bow at the beginning of a phrase in Boccherini's "Minuet" (Suzuki Book Two). The teacher did this by playing for the student and exclaiming at the same time "remember the reason for bow distribution, to save the bow". Immediately after this, the teacher played the same passage using a bow stroke that was too long and said "you don't want this, it sounds quite ugly". The teacher did not intend to explain with the rather ambiguous verbal interjections, but to illustrate for the student a type of sound made with a specific type of bowing. I will refer again to the practice of imitation in the last chapter and explore what further implications there are in this teaching process.

The second type of teaching that I observed is that of physical intervention. It is most often used with younger students and is a correction made by the teacher and imposed upon the student. As the student plays her instrument, the teacher changes the position of the violin under her chin, the placement of her fingers, the height of her right shoulder or elbow, the positioning of her feet. This is the most directed form of teaching for it is a correction made by the teacher and not by the student and the correction may or may not be accompanied by a verbal explanation.

A third teaching method is redirection, often referred to as "teaching the student to teach himself". This is a technique that involves redirecting the student's focus onto her own sound and playing. Redirection is often used in combination with the above teaching

procedures. As a matter of illustration, the teacher once asked a beginning student (age five) to close his eyes and listen to the teacher playing both with a "ringing tone" and with a "squeaking tone". The student was then directed to play "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star" (Suzuki Book One) and to listen for these two "tones" in his own playing (redirection with imitation). On another occasion, the teacher corrected the student's left hand thumb, and asked him to play with this corrected thumb position. The teacher used redirection when she told the student to stop playing if he felt the thumb move out of its new position (redirection with physical intervention).

The fourth type of teaching observed in the Suzuki lesson is teaching by metaphor. Herndon and McLeod claim that this form is often used when teaching complex musculature movement:

> Certain movements which are necessary to the creation of the proper sound seemingly cannot be taught directly. Verbalizing them will cause the individual student to tighten the very muscles he or she is supposed to loosen, and loosen those which are supposed to be tightened. For this reason, some singing teachers in the United States instruct a student to imagine a hole between the eyes and to conceive of the sound of his or her voice as a fountain of water flowing out of the hole (1981: 60).

Herndon and McLeod define metaphorical teaching as that which is indirect and descriptive. The metaphor however, is used not only to describe a difficult concept but is a "pervasive mode of understanding" our experiences. Johnson defines the metaphor as:

> [a means] by which we project patterns from one domain of experience in order to structure another domain of a different kind . . . Through metaphor, we make use of patterns that obtain in our physical experience to organize our more abstract understanding (1987: xv).

Teaching by metaphor is successful because individuals are able to use concrete and physical image schemata to better understand abstract concepts.

I observed that metaphorical teaching was often used to correct physical aspects of the student's playing. For example, a student is often required to correct his left hand position on the violin. As Rolland[9] (1974) has observed, "beginners automatically

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[9] Paul Rolland, an American violin pedagogue, developed a teaching method in which the student is encouraged to use "natural" body movement. He was influenced by Suzuki's ideas with regard to certain aspects of the teaching process. I will refer to him again in the next chapter.

choose the most comfortable but professionally unacceptable holding position: the neck [of the violin] resting on the palm and the fingers placed flat on the string" (1974: 98). Teachers may instruct the student to think of a tunnel which a train can go through, thereby directing the student to keep the fingers rounded. The student is thus able to use easily accessible patterns of open and close, derived from physical experience. Teaching by metaphor presents children with images that are understandable, to "hold the violin like a table", to "slide the fingers over the string like you would skate on ice". The teacher uses comparisons such as these in order to explain the often ambiguous and difficult skills demanded of the student. Similar to imitation, the metaphor facilitates the explanation by putting the concept into concrete terms.

These four procedures are the means by which ideas and concepts are transmitted and facilitate the teacher's main goal which is to instruct and direct the student to play the violin in a culturally acceptable manner. Such categorization is common amongst educators and is the foundation of a teaching method. An element not explicit in the method is the linear and consecutive nature of teaching. Each lesson begins from where the last lesson finished. The lesson's events and home practice assignments are recorded in a book and are done so in order to progress from one point to another. Linearity is embedded in the notions of review and preparation. The student works on review pieces in order to prepare for future difficulties.

As Blacking observed, he expected that the Venda children's songs "prepared" the children for musical participation as adults, that there "might be a gradual introduction to the complexities of heptatonic music" (1967: 29). However, in contrast to his expectations and as a challenge to his own cultural bias, "children's songs are not always easier than adult songs, and children do not necessarily learn the simple songs first" (1967: 29). There was not a linear, step-by-step procedure in the learning process as Blacking had assumed there would be.

In summary, the Suzuki teacher's goal is to formulate within the minds of his students what musical concepts are important and what playing techniques are correct, and as I have argued, this process is direct and linear. These concepts and techniques are not defined exclusively by the teacher but by the tradition, a tradition that upholds authority and demands precision and exactness in the musical performance (McAllester 1985, Nettl 1985,1989b).

As mentioned above, the teacher acts as "guardian", keeping order and directing activity. Using this term as it pertains to this particular situation, the teacher is more specifically a guardian of the music tradition. An hierarchical structure is evident in the violin lesson in which the music tradition, as a social and cultural construct is granted almost unquestioned authority. As Kingsbury claims, the printed texts, scores, are "invoked as authoritative resources" (1991: 198). More than the printed text however, the authority of the tradition manifests itself in standards, rules and measurements in performance practice. I will refine and develop this point in the next two chapters but have introduced it now to provide a context for better understanding the teacher's role.

Being the director of the event, the teacher is the recipient of "deference" (Goffman 1967) bestowed by the students and even the parents. The teacher is perceived as the authoritative figure in the lesson context but more importantly as the representative of an even greater authority, the music tradition. The teacher personifies the authority of the tradition, relaying to the student what is deemed musically proper. The teacher is himself a product of the tradition and is no less constrained than the student. Furthermore, in the Suzuki violin lesson, there are added layers to the hierarchy: various Suzuki organizations such as Society for Talent Education (S.T.E.), Suzuki Association of the Americas (S.A.A.), International Suzuki Association (I.S.A.) and, finally, Shinichi Suzuki. I noticed that his photograph hangs on the wall of the lesson studio. He still speaks at conferences disseminating new ideas, and changing old ones.

The ordering of events, organization of space and authoritative nature of the teacher suggest a maintaining of deeper cultural values held about authority. Nettl notes that examples of authority and hierarchy, as found in the violin lesson, are prevalent in the Western classical tradition. He deconstructs the symphony orchestra, comparing the organization of it to that "found in the military domain" (1989b: 13) with the conductor holding the central and esteemed position, the position of an "autocrat" (1989b: 74). Authority is represented by the music teacher, the one responsible for teaching the proper way to play, for leading the student to the "good music", and for instructing that student how to follow direction. The authoritative role of the teacher in turn defines the student's role, as a vessel for transmitted information, a carrier of the tradition.

2.5 ANALYZING THE STUDENT'S ROLE

The lesson as a formal, or in Goffman's terms, a "tight" event, creates for the

individual student a role, a framework that defines appropriate or inappropriate behaviour. Organized activity, time, and space, are used to structure behaviour, defining how involved the student is expected to be in the lesson event. The authoritarian role of the teacher (conductor in an orchestra setting, parent in the home practice sessions) similarly defines for the student a role, as one who gives deference rather than receives it.

I refer once again to Goffman's analysis of human interaction. He claims that the "basic structural feature of interaction" is mutual acceptance, agreement between participants regarding roles of deference and authority (1967: 11). The student chooses a role, even if this choice is made somewhat passively, for if they did not agree to submit to the teacher's authority, it is unlikely that the interaction between teacher and student (thus role definition) would continue. Inherent in this act of submission is the act of conforming to fit the standard.

It has been argued that structure inherent in a formal event is a means of control, pushing the individual into the corner of conformity. Bloch equates a formalized political situation with social control, claiming that "there seems no way whereby authority can be challenged except by a total refusal to use the accepted form which is compulsory for this type of occasion" (1974: 59). Bloch states that formalisation is a type of power because it reduces communication and behavioral options for those actors involved in the event, it is a "type of communication where rebellion is impossible and only revolution could be feasible" (1974: 74).

Bloch refers to Bernstein, who likewise is interested in control as manifest in social situations. Bernstein examines four elements in social processes: the system of control, the boundaries it sets up, the justification which sanctifies the boundaries and ultimately the power which is implied in the above three. As I have claimed, the lesson is a formalized event and it sets up boundaries that control physical movement and social interaction. However, I question whether any formal event, no matter how structured, can completely deny the individual's agency or ability to rebel.

Moore (1975) presents insight into this other side of conformity in structured events. She argues against perceiving structure as the direct opposite of anti-structure in actual situations and claims that all social contexts contain elements of both. Moore refers to Turner's paradigm of "structure", "norm-governed relationships between social

personae" and "communitas", "free relationships between individuals" (1975: 222-3). She claims that these concepts do not exist as simple opposites to one another in an actual social context for there is not an eclipsing of one when the other is evident, rather a competition between them.

The music lesson is a structured event, dependent upon "processes of regularization . . . a fixed framework of rules or understandings" (Moore 1975: 219). There is a "conscious model" of customary behaviours, role expectations and music standards that participants refer to for assurance of continuity and stability. But as noted above, absolute structure only exists ideologically so "despite all the attempts to crystallize the rules, there invariably remains a certain range of manoeuvres, of openness, of choice, of interpretation" (Moore 1975: 222). Although the music lesson is defined as a structured event, it does not exist in a vacuum. Order, or the "fixed framework", is potentially challenged by spontaneity, innovation and possible rebellion expressed through the individual. The counteracting process to that of regularization is "situational adjustment" in which the individual "arranges [her] immediate situation" (Moore 1975: 234) and thus introduces a certain degree of indeterminacy into the context.

There are several ways of challenging a situation through acts of impropriety (Goffman 1963). These acts are defined by the situation itself, depending on what is acceptable involvement and what is not. In the violin lesson, challenges are limited for individual adjustments are monitored assuring a minimal disruption in the continuous renewal of the standards and norms.

One particular student, aged sixteen, whom I observed for several lessons attempted to make a "situational adjustment" in her violin lessons but not through innovation or spontaneity. Instead she tried to challenge the teacher through what I call silent rebellion. Never did the student refuse to do as the teacher directed. She played what was asked of her, answered questions, came on time for her lesson and left when the lesson was over. Her behaviour was defiant although not openly so, and this was most obvious in her violin playing. For example, when asked to play the second movement of Mozart's violin concerto in G major, K. 216, she was interrupted soon after she began. The teacher asked her to make greater dynamic changes (to play louder, softer as was required by the music) and to use a lighter bow stroke. The student played again from the beginning of the movement but did the exact opposite of what had been

asked, using a heavier bow and playing slightly louder with no dynamic contrast at all. The teacher never openly showed anger but instead continued instructing and most often getting the opposite result of what she wanted. The teacher expressed to me after one of these incidents that the student caused her much grief. The teacher was aware of the student's unhappiness and knew that the parents were forcing her to attend the lessons.[10]

The so-called "range of manoeuvres" or improprieties possible to the student were curbed by certain elements in the lesson. Both the teacher and student were used to the order of events in the lesson and did not deviate. The time of the lesson was never shortened for the parents had paid for sixty minutes and this agreement had to be fulfilled. The role of teacher did not easily if at all move into the role of disciplinarian and so both actors continued as they had, somehow trapped by the structure. Instead of openly expressing anger or dislike, the student continued to attend and do as she was told but expressed her displeasure through an ill-defined manner: in her violin playing. The student challenged the structure of the teaching context, but only to a limited degree for the processes of regularization in this context were stronger than those of situational adjustment.

This example resonates with what Barthes expressed in an interview entitled "Dare to Be Lazy" (1985: 338). He claimed that school or any formal teaching situation is a "structure of constraint" and laziness or idleness, whether affected or not, is a means of "foiling" the constraint. He remarks that "laziness can be a response to repression" (1985: 338) and because the student does not have the power, ability or awareness to confront the constraints directly, laziness avoids a crisis and at the same time is a means of maintaining agency. As will become more apparent, boredom is one of the few ways in which the student can express himself. Central to the music lesson is discipline, setting up standards, and measurements in which the student is taught to comply with. Inherent in the notion of discipline is the idea of converting "formless clay, an inapt body" into a "pliable and practiced body" (Foucault 1977: 137-138). The structured setting of the lesson marks the beginning of this process.

In my attempt to deconstruct the learning conditions (the space used, the order of

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[10] This student discontinued lessons at the teacher's suggestion in month two of the observation period.

events, the defined roles of participants), I have interpreted one level of a complex and multi-layered event. The Suzuki violin lesson has various "webs of significance" (Geertz 1973: 5), strands that have been spun out of historical, cultural, social and individual sources. I have attempted to explain one element of the lesson, how the structure and formality of the event leave little room for individual challenges. Roles are defined such that the teacher is in a representative position of authority, not only directing the student and parent but indeed creating the structure and formalizing the event. I am not suggesting that the individual's agency is eliminated but that it is severely restricted. I have described this restriction in relation to the lesson setting and will continue on with my interpretation, sorting out yet another "structure of significance" by looking at how structure and authority is embodied in the individual student (Geertz 1973).

Chapter Three

Embodied Control

Learning how to play an instrument begins first and foremost with mastering the physical mechanics, learning how to relax and contract very specific muscles, how, where and when, to move fingers and arms in accordance with both the instrument and the music. Much of the information transmitted in the violin lesson is specifically related to increasing physical efficiency. The student learns how to control her body, so as to play prescribed music in a prescribed style. I do not intend to summarize how a student is taught the physical aspects of playing the violin, but to explore the basic assumptions held in the Western classical tradition about the body in relation to music and music making.

The human body is common to all but is used and perceived in many different ways according to the social and cultural context in which it is situated. The body is a "perpetual source of meaning", a "cultural object" (Gusfield 1992: 75) in which one's environment is both internally understood and externally objectified. Cultural information is implicit in the physical activities of individuals for "symbolic behaviour must work through the body" (Douglas 1970: vii). Through analysis of how individuals are taught to use their bodies in various social settings we come to a better understanding of how such use is culturally significant.

It has been claimed and well documented that all kinesic behaviour is learned and "patterned by social and cultural experience" (Birdwhistell 1970: 173) Human movement is as much a learned phenomenon as language. Both are physiological processes that rely on "social interaction of the right kind at the right time" (Blacking 1971: 3). Movement is a means of communicating and relating to others and just as language, it is developed through enculturative and socialization processes (Birdwhistell 1970). Cultural values inform this learning, determining how the body is used and perceived. Gestures, facial expressions, unconscious and conscious movements are acts of communication (Hall 1959).

However, body motion is not only a "learned form of communication" as Birdwhistell (1970: xi) and Hall (1959) have argued, but can be used symbolically to convey cultural meanings and attitudes. Barthes, in his book The Fashion System, attempts to

systematically define how clothing is an "object of communication", a means by which information is exchanged (from an interview conducted by Cecile Delanghe in 1967, Barthes 1985: 43). Applying Barthe's structural analysis of clothing to an analysis of the violinist's body (not to mention the performance attire a violinist is required to wear), it is possible that, similar to clothing, the manner in which the musician uses his body is part of a "science of signs" and thus a signifier of cultural values.

In order to understand how the body can be used as a signifier, or what in essence is being signified, there must be an understanding of the social context within which the communicative act takes place. Douglas most effectively relates the symbolic use of the body to its social context. She states that formal settings (such as the music lesson) require controlled movement and physical distance between actors. Informal settings require the opposite, relaxed body positions and intimacy. The body is used as a symbolic medium "expressing information for and from the social system in which it is a part" (Douglas 1978: 83). This orientates the individual to a situation which may range from total relaxation to total control. If we "take cognisance fully of bodily eruptions" (Douglas 1978: 87) we are able to understand better what social information is being communicated. Goffman, in determining what constitutes "proper conduct" in particular social situations, states that one is expected to "exert a kind of discipline or tension in regard to his body, showing that he has his faculties in readiness for any face-to-face interaction that might come his way in the situation" (1963: 24).

Both Douglas and Goffman are considering how body conduct is defined by its social context. The violin lesson, for example, is a structured setting perpetuating an environment of control. As described in chapter one, there is control of physical movement in relation to space and other actors. This control is further imposed upon the body. However, this control is not only a result of the lessons's formal social setting, but is fundamentally tied to accorded authority of the music tradition. In reference to the structural analysis advocated by Barthes, the manner in which students learn to train their body in relation to the instrument, the music, the setting, signifies cultural values having to do with authority, discipline and conformity. The formalized social setting is another manifestation of these values (as well as an active reinforcement). I want to provide an explicit description of the technical aspects of playing the violin and examples from the Suzuki violin lesson, not only to provide an ethnographic reference, but to investigate further the implications of embodied control.

Violinists are taught to train their bodies to respond to exacting physical demands. Ivan Galamian, a renowned violin pedagogue, claims that total technical control of the violin is an "absolute" value:

> The key to facility and accuracy and, ultimately, to complete mastery of violin technique is to be found in the relationship of mind to muscles, that is, in the ability to make the sequence of mental command and physical response as quick and as precise as possible (1985: 2).

Galamian's reference to the precision and quickness of the physical responses reflects an attitude towards the body, that of unquestionable control and mastery of the instrument. Furthermore, Galamian emphasizes the hierarchical structure in which control is defined. The mind is trained to control the body, which in turn controls the instrument. As will become apparent, this hierarchy of control is a fundamental characteristic of the music tradition.

Perhaps the most primary aspect of teaching the violin, is transmitting to the student how to physically manipulate the instrument in an efficient and culturally acceptable manner. The violin itself places physical constraints on the body "favouring certain movement patterns that are easily organised on the instrument's layout" (Baily 1977: 273). Szende and Nemessuri who deal specifically with the physiological aspects of violin playing claim that "it is the particular structure of the violin and the bow that specify the execution of [particular] movements" (1971: 16).

Describing the violin and how to play it may seem obvious, however, I want to draw the reader's attention to the physical aspects of playing that are generally taken for granted. The violin is a relatively small instrument, held under the chin at a slight left angle to the body. There are four strings closely spaced over the fingerboard. Precise finger movements up and down the fingerboard (toward the bridge and scroll, respectively) and across the fingerboard (from string to string) are necessary for "purity of intonation" (Szende and Nemessuri 1971: 60). The right arm and hand hold the bow and move it across the strings in a straight line, close to the bridge. Tremendous control without unnecessary tension in the arm is required to obtain the desired sound. The two sides of the body are moving in contrasting motions and the complexity of this often results in tightness of muscles and inflexibility (Rolland 1974). The muscular coordination that is needed to play the violin is not only complex but also somewhat unnatural, with both arms raised up from the body, in "tiring positions" (Szende and Nemessuri 1971: 19). The left arm and hand raise the violin so that it is perpendicular

to the ground. The right arm and hand hold the bow up to and across the strings. These motions are easy to describe but are tremendously complex, requiring coordinated motion.

3.1 PHYSICAL DISCIPLINE IN THE VIOLIN LESSON

A characteristic aspect of the Suzuki teaching method is the systemized approach used for teaching the technical aspects of playing the instrument. Guidelines and specific exercises are suggested for helping the student to train their bodies in accordance with a physical standard of playing.

William Starr, author of The Suzuki Violinist, and one of the strongest published advocates of the Suzuki method, notes that in order to meet this physical standard, the student must resist the "natural" proclivities of the body. He describes the "formation of good habits" (another expression for discipline of the body) as overcoming these natural tendencies:

> it is "natural" for a person to hold an object he examines directly in front of him, yet he cannot play the violin well if it is held directly in front of him. He must learn to hold the violin to the left, even though it is not "natural" for one to keep one's head turned to the left to look at anything for any length of time. . .
>
> it is "natural" for one to hold a slender object such as a bow strongly, with the hand clenched or with the tips of the fingers. The correct bow hold seems awkward and risky to most beginners (1976: 21).

Starr's conclusion based on his observations is that "what is 'bad' may feel 'good' to the child relying on 'natural' guidelines" (1976: 20). Interestingly, he places good, bad and natural in quotation marks as though he were apprehensive to claim that the physical discipline required to play the violin is an unnatural imposition upon the body.

Disciplining the body in relation to the instrument, or imposing unnatural positions upon the individual, is perhaps most obvious in the beginning years of learning, for the student must adapt to the confinements of violin playing such as standing still and precisely positioning the body.

The Suzuki student is taught to "concentrate" prior to learning any other skill. The "concentration game" involves an exercise used to teach the student to focus attention on activity in the lesson and is not considered to be a postural exercise, although the student's body is positioned in a specified manner. The student is instructed to stand

on a piece of cardboard with positioned feet drawn on it. The cardboard is referred to as the child's "foot prints" and is used as a "guide for the placement of the beginner's feet" (Starr 1976: 41). The student is required to stand immobile on the positioned feet ("rest position"), staring straight ahead at his parent while the "Twinkle Variations" are played in the background (the first piece the student learns).

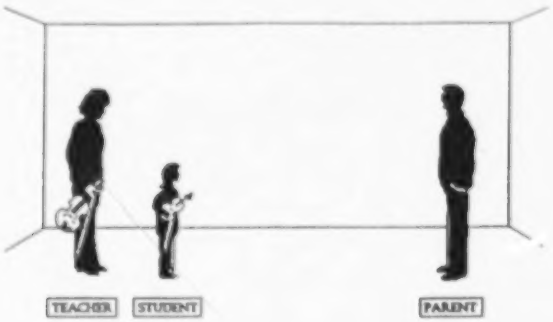

Diagram 2.[11]

Once the child shows an ability to concentrate, she learns "rest position" and "playing position" (Starr 1976: 40-1). In place of the violin, the student learns these positions using a facsimile, a box with a ruler or stick attached. "Rest position" involves holding the 'violin' under the right arm and holding the bow (which is real) with the right hand. The student is then taught how to move into "playing position", placing the left foot forward and to a slight left angle, and then taking the body of the 'violin' with the left hand and moving the instrument up between the chin and shoulder and to a slight left angle. The student is directed to drop the left hand and rest it at the side of the body and count to ten while holding the box perfectly still. Once accomplished, the student learns to move systematically back into rest position. This is an exercise that is repeated in every lesson in the beginning months of the student's training. It is the first step in disciplining the body and the movements are monitored closely, assuring exactness in position.

Before the violin is introduced, the student learns how to hold the bow and once she is able to do so, the student learns how to guide it over the open strings of the violin. The bow is divided into segments with tape, guiding the student visually as to which part of

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11 Correction to the diagram: The student does not hold his instrument for this exercise.

the bow to use. At approximately the same time that the student is learning his first bow strokes, they learn to place the left hand fingers onto the fingerboard. Finger positions are similarly marked on the fingerboard with coloured tape. The visual guide and introductory bow stroke ensure "clean finger- and string-changes" (Eisler 1993: 25), referring to the placement of the fingers and bow on the strings in such a way so that distinct and clearly separated notes are produced.

The student is directed to focus his eyes on the bridge of the violin. If the student is caught looking around while playing, he is re-directed to focus again on the instrument. This is possible for the Suzuki student because music is memorized rather than read. When the student's body is positioned too low or is twisting while playing, there is an exception to this rule. The teacher may ask the student to focus on a "target" somewhere else in the room, attempting to direct the student to straighten up his caved-in position.

One device that seemed to me a particularly interesting constraint, was a string made up of rubber bands. Apparently this is a teaching device used to provide an exagerated demonstration of a heavy bow arm.[12] The rubber string was attached to the right arm of the student and stretched down to her left foot. The purpose of this was to prompt the student to attend to the level of her bow arm. It was in essence a physical restriction used to keep the elbow of the bow arm down close to the body.

The beginning student, as is clear in the above examples, is taught the gross mechanics of playing and as these mechanics are mastered and become more coordinated, subtle advancements are made in the complexity of movement. A good example of this is the introductory bow hold in which the student is taught to hold the thumb underneath the frog of the bow as opposed to in between the stick and bow. This provides the student with something larger to hold onto and prevents the right hand thumb from squeezing or becoming immobile. I observed students learning the bow hold and their tendency was to do exactly that, to clench the stick and resist any relaxation.

Through the beginning to the advanced years, the student learns muscle control, whether it is simply standing still or a more complex form of control such as vibrato of

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[12] This was introduced by Shin'ichi Suzuki in the late 1980's, and is perhaps still in somewhat of an experimental stage.

the left hand. Muscle control is taught in a systematic manner, through isolated exercises or drills. An example of how a student, whom I will refer to as Alice, was introduced to crossing the strings with her bow, illustrates how muscle control is taught.

The teacher was illustrating for Alice how to move from one string to another. The four strings of the violin are placed in such a way that each string is at a different height in relation to the right bow arm. Students learn how to play on each string without touching the one(s) beside it, thus how to adjust and steady the height of their arm. For example, the E string is the highest pitched string and is closest to the player's right side, requiring a low right elbow. The G string is positioned farthest from the players right side, thus requiring a slightly higher right elbow.

Alice was learning how to use the elbow of her right arm when moving from a string farther from her right side to one that was closer (thus from a lower pitched to higher pitched string), and to use the thumb of the bow hand when moving in the opposite direction. The teacher asked Alice to play the open strings A and E while she physically lowered Alice's elbow herself. Alice was then directed to play a piece and each time she crossed a string she was told to call out either "elbow" or "thumb" depending on whether she was to lead the bow stroke by lowering her elbow or by pushing up with her thumb of the bow hand.

The manner of teaching used was that of physical intervention and redirection discussed in chapter one, but more specifically, Alice was taught how to conceive of her string crossing as isolated movement. Technique in violin playing is not taught in a holistic manner, rather it is a "breakdown [of] complex musical ideas or gestures into simple ones", an analytical description of the parts of the music and parts of the body (Rice 1984: 118).

The technical skills required of the violinist are a central and necessary focus in the music lesson. The student eventually becomes physically adept and able to coordinate his body in relation to the instrument and music. As the student develops the muscles needed to play properly, he "becomes freer and freer in his handling of the bow" and violin (Starr 1976: 59). Assumed to be fundamental to this process is the individual's capability to adapt and adjust to constraints imposed upon the body (i.e.: "foot paper", coloured tape, elastic string), to essentially discipline the body. Discipline in the

context of the violin lesson, however, involves more than learning physical coordination and adaptation. As I will illustrate, it is the embodiment of certain values that have emerged out of Western performance ideals.

3.2 DISCIPLINE OF THE BODY

As expressed in Chapter One, the expectations placed on the violin student are defined by a music tradition that is based on historical, sociological and ideological factors. Inherent in the tradition is a defined canon, which refers not only to music, the so-called "masterworks", but to a standard by which the student is taught to compare himself. Bergeron explains, the word canon has an etymology that "refers to . . . a physical model that both embodies a standard of measure and makes possible its reproduction. The canon is, in this sense, an ideal of order made material, physical, visible" (1992: 2). Similarly, Kermode claims that canon "means 'rod' or 'rule' or 'measure'" (1979: 75). Technical mastery that has become the norm (or rule) in violin playing is, as such, part of the Western art music canon. Like other aspects of the tradition, it is a standard, "an ordering of the body" (Bergeron 1992: 2). More strongly put by Foucault, it is "the meticulous control of the operations of the body" (1977: 137), producing "subjected and practised bodies" (1977: 138), thus increasing utility (technical capabilities) and obedience (lack of revolt against music tradition) of the individual.

Discipline requires certain elements that, according to Foucault, assure the docility of individuals. Not unlike Douglas's (1970) correlative relationship of the social situation and bodily symbols (control of environment = control of body), Foucault claims that discipline first requires space or enclosures, functional sites in which each individual knows her place. The music lesson provides the necessary confinement for a specific time period. The ranking of the participants (teacher, parent, student, in that order) further defines the individual's position, guaranteeing obedience (Foucault 1977: 148).[13]

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[13] Shin'ichi Suzuki's intent was to avoid this hierarchy where the student is placed in the lowest position. The teachers whom I observed similarly did not assume a position of domination. However, as argued in the previous chapter, the teacher is in a position of authority and the student is a receptor of the authoritative voice. The roles that the student, parent, and teacher accept, correspond to Foucault's notion of "functional sites" in that each actor involved is aware of his expected interaction with other actors.

The second element required of discipline, as defined by Foucault, is the control of activities through time, placing not only the activity, but the body into a frame:

> The act is broken down into its elements; the position of the body, limbs, articulations is defined; to each movement is assigned a direction, an aptitude, a duration; their order of succession is prescribed. Time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power (1977: 152).

Controlled activity is further enhanced through a determined relationship between the body and the object that is being manipulated. This is especially relevant to the violin lesson, for the parts of the body used to play the violin are directly related to the parts of the violin and between them there is a "meticulous meshing" (Foucault 1977: 153).

Foucault's reference to the disciplined body above, is to that of an eighteenth century French soldier and how he is "made out of formless clay, an inapt body" in which posture is gradually corrected" (1977: 151). The "meticulous meshing" is that between the soldier's body and the weapon. There is a synthesis between the individual and the object, a "coercive link with the apparatus of production" (1977: 153). Foucault's strongly argued definition of discipline may seem far removed and overstated in comparison to Shinichi Suzuki's definition of discipline as a "key to harmonious living" (1969b). After all, disciplining the body to shoot a rifle as an eighteenth century French soldier is hardly the same as learning to play the violin. The "coercive link" between the body and rifle does not appear to be analogous to the link between the body and the violin. And yet Foucault's definition, on closer examination, is entirely relevant. The individual is presented with "measure[s] of instrumental discipline" (Bergeron 1992: 2), the scale, precise intonation, a "singing" tone, and the student learns to control their body so as to comply with these measures.

Galamian describes how intonation in playing depends on the physical senses of touch and hearing:

> The building of good intonation rests mainly on the sense of touch in combination with the guidance of the ear. The fingers are like blind people who guide themselves through a sightless existence by touching objects which mark their parts from place to place . . . The hand learns gradually to orient itself, to find its proper location by the feel of the neck (and the body of the instrument in the upper positions) . . . the fingers in turn learn to acquire, through the sense of touch, the feeling for correct placement and for proper stretch (1985: 19).

This passage is very similar to Foucault's reference to "instrumental coding of the body

. . . the breakdown of the total gesture into two parallel series: that of the parts of the body to be used (right hand, left hand, different fingers of the hand, knee, eye, elbow, etc.) and that of the parts of the objects manipulated (barrel, notch, hammer, screw, etc. [violin, bow, strings]) (1977: 153). By bringing the body into a correlative relationship with an object, Foucault argues that disciplinary power is introduced which functions, not as an exploitation of the product, but as a "coercive link" between the body (violin student) and the "apparatus of production" (violin) (1977: 153).

Such disciplinary power is inherent in a music tradition that accords priority to conserving a defined standard, to "upholding the canon" (Bergeron 1992: 3). Within the context of the lesson, such power is keenly apparent, for the individual student is physically "subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault 1977: 136) in accordance with a standard that does not empathize with particular body types but imposes upon each individual, marks of control. Bergeron refers to this imposition as "training of the body into an orderly relation with itself in the production of music" (1992: 2). She refers to the Suzuki class as a "perfect model of discipline", a teaching situation in which the "orderly relations" are certainly evident. It is worth questioning why Bergeron singles out the Suzuki class as the "perfect model of discipline" and moreover, why further on, she describes the class as "demonstrat[ing] the eerie power of the ordered body" (1992: 2). In my opinion, Bergeron's choice is due to the powerful image associated with Suzuki concerts, the appearance of the collectivity in the context of performance: each individual playing the same music in exactly the same positions, using the same bow motion. It is a reference point for most readers and certainly a potent one at that.

However, I want to add to Bergeron's comment, and point out that the Suzuki student is not more confined to a physical standard of playing than other violin students. Undeniably, the ordered bowing of the violin section in an orchestra is another powerful example of the subjected or "docile" body. Essentially, the music tradition which the Suzuki student and the orchestral member participate in, requires of them an "orderly relation" between their bodies and the instrument, between their instruments and the music and between themselves and others.

3.3 THE BODY, THE MIND AND MUSIC

As illustrated in the violin lesson, in order to achieve a "meticulous meshing" between

the violin and untrained body, it is often a matter of gently forcing the body into what Starr refers to as "unnatural" and restricting positions. Students learn to submit their bodies to disciplinary power, thereby assuring the maintenance of a standard defined by the music tradition. Ironically an inherent aspect of this tradition is the implied separation between the body and the music. Music in the Western European art tradition has come to be defined as a structure disconnected from human behaviour and participation. McClary states that "one of the principal claims to supremacy in European classical music . . . is that it transcends the body, that it is concerned with nobler domains of imagination and even metaphysics" (1991: 57). So we encounter a contradiction for, although the student's body is a tool for controlled transmission, the vessel in which music is made possible, McClary asserts that inherent in the music tradition is a denial of the physical.

Within much of Western musicological discourse, music is defined as autonomous and separate from its social and cultural context (McClary 1991, Shepherd 1992, Goehr 1992). Assumed in music's perceived autonomy, is a separation between the "transcendent" music and the physical body. This is strongly suggested in Cone's comments:

> music requiring bodily motion on the part of the listener for its complete enjoyment, like much popular dance music, is by that token artistically imperfect; perhaps the same principle can be applied to performance. (1968: 17).

Cone perceives physical response to music as "a bit meretricious" (1968: 17) and as something to be suppressed:

> If we are members of an audience, silence should present to us a period of empty time in which nothing is happening. It should separate out individual and collective movements from the movement that is, for the time being, to control us all: the music (1968: 16).

Inherent in Cone's reference to the essential autonomy of the music is a hierarchy of control, similar to that of Galamian's reference mentioned above. Cone however, adds another layer to this hierarchy, that of music. Music is to "control us all", to control the individual's mind as well as their body.

This control is illustrated in the violin lesson in which responding to the music in a physical way is limited. As noted in examples provided above (see Section 3.2), the position of the student's body is closely monitored so as to assure the student learns the "proper posture" for playing the violin (Starr 1976:40). The student is taught to play

using very little movement of any part of the body not directly related to the instrument, to plant his feet firmly in one spot and to avoid unnecessary or distracting movements. While the student is allowed, and in some cases encouraged, to sway to the music, he is discouraged from tapping his foot in correspondence with the beat, or from making distracting facial expressions. In relation to Cone's remarks above, "bodily motion" in response to the music, even that of the performer, is highly regulated.

The perceived mind-body separation is a concept prevalent not only in Western "art" music practice, but in many aspects of Western culture. Christianity has, to a large extent, provided a model for the separation between "spirit and flesh". Physical temptations are considered to be impediments to transcendence and spiritual ascendency. Overcoming needs of the flesh through strength of the mind (spirit), or vice versa, giving in to the needs of the flesh and thus becoming susceptible to human failure and weakness, are common paradigms that have emerged out of Christianity. Such paradigms are not confined to the Christian faith but inform much of our Western thinking.

This physical-intellectual (flesh-spirit) dichotomy is part of an appeal for objectivity, a "rational structure to reality, independent of the beliefs of any particular people" (Johnson 1987: x). Inherent in this so-called reality is the believed existence of a neutral world view, of the truth. The objective experience "transcends structures of bodily experience" considering the subjectivity that those experiences entail as an interference in defining this truth. As Johnson points out, there is a "gap" between the rational, formal, cognitive human experience and the emotional, perceptual, physical experience, further defining objectivity as existing in a dichotomous relationship with subjectivity (1987: xxvi).

It is this gap that is evident in Cone's remarks above and in the music lesson. Music is perceived as a rational, formal and inherently mental experience. The individual's response to music is of little merit for as Cone remarks, that implies subjectivity. The reader may wonder how this gap and the physical discipline required of the violin student are reconciled. With closer examination of the situation however, it is apparent that the belief in objectivity and neutrality of music actually inform how the body is to be used. The student learns to strip the subjective, individual self from her playing in order to adopt and conform to a model, a model that is delineated in the teaching manuals and in the lesson and reinforced in the performance context.

According to Bourdieu (1977), social power is inscribed upon the body. The individual's body mediates between the subjective world and the cultural world and as such, is a "mnemonic device upon and in which the very basics of culture . . . are imprinted and encoded in a socialising or learning process which commences during early childhood" (Jenkins 1987: 75). By teaching children how to move, how to hold the violin and bow, how to (or not to) make facial expressions, there takes place an "embodying of the structures of the world" (Bourdieu 1977: 89), an inscription of social power that presents the objective music as controlling the subjective body. Disciplining the body according to a standardized model thus is not a means of putting the body into the music but of taking it away.

The controlled, and for lack of a better term, standardized body of the violinist, thus reflects a fundamental value in the Western classical tradition, that being the accorded priority of conservation and maintenance of the music tradition. This subsequently implies that subjectivity of the individual has to be secondary (if not altogether dismissed).

Henry Kingsbury (1991) analyses musical discourse and how architectural metaphors are frequently used to describe music, metaphors such as structure, form, bridge. He claims that these images articulate the value of social stability, and more specifically the belief in the fixed musical object that has so-called "stood the test of time" (1991: 196). In my effort to better understand what is implied in the notion of discipline, I find myself drawn to Kingsbury's assertion. It appears that the need to conserve a music tradition (and here I am referring to not only the music but to the accompanying belief in its fixity), is not only a fundamental element of, but a reason for discipline.

The perception of music as a fixed, timeless object, is the rationale for the physical discipline imperative in the student's training, for without this, the fidelity and integrity of the music is threatened. Correspondingly it becomes clear that separating the body from the music is not a physical separation, for it is the trained body that makes the music possible. Rather this separation implies a dismissal of the subjective (the individual) in an attempt to preserve the objective (the music).

Chapter Four

The Lore of Performance

An important aspect of the violin lesson is training the student to play his instrument in a performance setting. Learning how to perform begins in the first months of training. Before the student has even begun to play on a real violin, they participate as a performer in both formal and informal settings. This role is guided by what defines a performance. According to Milton Singer, the Western classical notion of music performance is that of a "cultural performance", in which there is a specific time limit, a beginning and an end, an organized program of activity, a set of performances and an audience, a place in which to perform and a pre-specified occasion for performance (Herndon and McLeod 1981: 42). It is a specific definition of performance that excludes many other occasions for performing music. Prior to further describing how the Suzuki student learns to participate in such a "cultural performance", I want to provide a more comprehensive definition of performance in order to better understand how our concept of performance practice is culturally defined.

Goffman defines the performance event in terms of the "temporal and spatial brackets" that demarcate it (1974: 251). These brackets organize the activity allowing the participants to "locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences" marking that activity off from the "flow of surrounding events" and thus rendering it meaningful (Goffman 1974: 251). Even more trenchant than Goffman's framed events of the "everyday, unstaged world" however, the performance provides an "inversion of the everyday" (Turino 1993: 113) and is thus an intensified expression of cultural identity. As Turino points out regarding the festivals among Conimeno residents in Southern Peru "[performances] are routinized occasions for recognizing routine, habitual moments for awakening from habit" (1993: 114).

Herndon defines performance, or in her terms the "musical occasion", as an

> encapsulated expression of the shared cognitive forms and values of a society, which includes not only the music itself but also the totality of associated behaviour and underlying concepts (1971: 340).

Involved in a performance is a communicative process, a mutual experience that both embodies and structures a framework of cultural understandings. Furthermore

performance enables the individual to "understand the experience of the other" through direct involvement and through the "mediation of cultural constructs" (Kapferer 1986: 191). There is a conjoining of the universal to the particular (Kapferer 1986), the uniting of the individual to his cultural and social environment.

As both an "encapsulated expression" of a culture and a forum for individual involvement, performance has become an important area of ethnomusicological study (Herndon and McLeod 1981, Qureshi 1986-7, 1987, Seeger 1987a, Turino 1993). The performance provides the "actual context" in which "actual music" is made (Qureshi 1986-7: 118). Being processual and time-dependent, it captures the moment in which text and context combine, in which the music is made audible by a particular musician in a determined period of time and for a specific audience.

The focus of this chapter thus is not on the performance event per se but on the cultural constructs or "lore of understanding" (Goffman 1974: 21) that enable the violin student to participate within the performance's "brackets of activity". When the child first begins taking lessons, acting out a performance at home is meant to display the progress that has been made. The child implicitly learns that performance is a separate and more formal event: the "child walks up onto the 'stage' with his violin tucked under his arm and his bow in his hand. After facing his father, he bows solemnly and then leaves the stage. He has shown the father how well he can hold the violin 'at rest'" (Starr 1976: 10). Learning this behaviour is an important part of the Suzuki student's training.[14]

One particular element of the "cultural performance" that is evident in this behavior is the qualitative distinction made between the private and public setting which music is made. Citron provides an insightful account of the public and private domains of music, claiming that these domains have "become a fundamental part of musical valuation" (1993: 100). The public arena for music-making "has been privileged . . . its activities have been chronicled, preserved and praised". Furthermore it is closely tied to the "paradigm of professionalism" (Citron 1993: 102) rendering the private domain (domestic arena) less significant. Public performance, with a connection to

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14 This is training for performance and takes place in a setting that is generally not defined as "formal" (the home). Acting out a performance is considered to be a tremendous motivating factor for the student. However, such a consideration correspondingly defines performance as a goal.

professionalism, "represents a status and identity to be aspired to" (Citron 1993: 108).

It is within the public sphere that the violin student performs. I am not claiming that the Suzuki student is in training for professional musicianship. Indeed Shin'ichi Suzuki challenges this very goal as potentially detrimental to the student's learning process (Suzuki 1969a, 1969b). Certainly the main reason for the concerts that I attended were to create a positive social environment, a place for students and their families to interact. The concerts are considered to be of similar learning value to other events that students are involved. Although concerts are staged more for the purposes of motivation and social interaction, the student nevertheless learns that the public concert is a valued arena for music making. These public performances are connected to professionalism in the sense that the student concert imitates the professional concert and potentially reflects certain of the attitudes inherent in this activity.

The violin student learns to participate as a performer in a public arena and in reference to Singer's notion of "cultural performance", the event is well defined in terms of time, space and role expectations. However, in addition to Singer's specified characteristics and the qualitative difference attributed to the public domain of performance, the student learns that his participation is further bound by the music itself (or more precisely, the perception of what the music is). Keil (1966) specifies two categories in which music can be described, music as having "embodied meaning" and music as "engendered feeling", referring respectively to product-oriented and performance-based music traditions.

The first classification describes music in which the mode of construction is composed, the mode of presentation occurs as repeated performances and the mode of response is . mental. "Engendered feeling" in contrast describes music that occurs as a single performance, is responded to physically and is of an improvised nature. The importance of Keil's analysis for my study is not in his categorization of music, rather it is understanding how cultural ideologies affect musical activity. Thus music defined as having "embodied meaning" is thought to be a product rather than a process through which the music is discovered.

It is this aspect of performance that I would like to investigate, for although the violin student learns that a performance is a framed and special event, he correspondingly learns that the music's text is considered to be independent of its performance context

and moreover, that the text is held up as an authoritative document (Kingsbury 1991). This division and accorded priority of the text does, to a great extent, inform how the student is taught his role as performer.

4.1 THE WORK CONCEPT

The performance tradition within which the Suzuki violin student is enculturated, is based on the notion of what Goehr refers to as Werktreue (1992: 243), meaning fidelity to the work. This ideal defines the music as autonomous, as a product of human creativity. The student learns to be a "servant to the composer's works" (Goehr 1992: 273) and to acknowledge the primacy of the music. Similar to the constraints imposed by the structured setting of the lesson and further constraints that are evidenced in the disciplined body, the student learns that there are constraints imposed by performance practice.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, reification of music has prevailed in Western musicological scholarship. The discipline has predominantly focused on analysis of the music as product, as text, score, an "autonomous organism" (Shepherd 1992: 130). "Commodity fetishism" is a relevant Marxist term that describes this phenomenon of the autonomous product. An object is perceived as separate from its maker(s), separate from the process of human activity. Moreover, the product is defined as having intrinsic and autonomous value as opposed to value that has been socially constructed (Marx 1938). The object or product is "regarded as though [it] had originated by magic and appeared in the shops, not as though [it] were made by people for other people to use" (Tax 1972: 23). Tax uses Marx's term to describe how art has become a product-oriented phenomenon, with no perceived reason or function outside its own existence, in other words, "art for art's sake" (1972: 22).

Shepherd similarly attempts to explain the distinction made between the product and process although from a semiological perspective rather than an functional one. His analysis is designed to explain how music as a text has been extracted from its context, from extra-musical meaning. Shepherd claims that in Western art music, because the "sounds of music do not obviously refer outside themselves", because "music emerges either as having 'no meaning' or as having a meaning that is quite distinct and apart from all other forms of meaning", there is a "genuine" difficulty in understanding how the text (product) and context (process) relate (Shepherd 1992: 131).

Certainly in the Western music tradition, the music as score, as text, can be separated from a social context. The music's notated form lends itself to analysis and examination of its internal structure. However, the inherent separability of the score is not confined to form analysis but has become a fundamental aspect of performance practice. Defining music as "pure and self-subsistent", "free from associations with words or actions" is not merely a way of writing about music, but forms the basis of cultural constructs that ultimately translate into the "manipulation of social context[s]" (Kingsbury 1991: 205), affecting those individuals who interact with the music. This is evident in the performance arena in which the work concept has prompted the development of a hierarchical relationship between the performer, the audience and the music. I intend to further illustrate how Werktreue directly affects the student's learned understanding of the "lore of performance". Such training entails more than becoming capable of participation within a defined arena but extends to learning how the individuals' interaction and relation to the music is perceived.

4.2 LEARNING THE "LORE OF PERFORMANCE"

4.2.1 Redefining the Interpretive Practice

The notion of "being true to a work" suggests that the performer adhere to the music's score as closely as possible, to provide an accurate rendering of the "work." As Goehr points out, ambiguity surfaces when one attempts to define in what capacity a "work" exists, for it is not reducible to the score (Goehr 1992: 3). This confusion is not limited to philosophical speculation but emerges in the music lesson. The violin student learns the necessity of playing the music according to its notated form, and is at the same time, introduced to the concept of "expressive properties" (Goehr 1992: 3), those elements in a musical performance which are connected to the individual's judgement and performance of the work. Kingsbury contends that there are two fundamental values being transmitted in music education, to "honour what is written in the text, [to] participate in the canonized repertoire" and correspondingly to "play with feeling, to give [the music] life, to make it animate and breathing" (1991: 200).

As suggested in the book Casals and the Art of Interpretation, these "expressive properties" (or interpretation of the score) are contextualized within the relationship a performer has to the music, and described as the performer's ability to reveal the soul of the music:

> For Casals, the first note was the portal through which the divine impulse entered our earthly domain. . . When listening to the very first sound emanating from Casals' cello, we know what it is when matter is born of spirit (Blum 1977: 67).

Galamian defines interpretation as the moment in which the "artist is moved by the music, forgets about techniques and abandons himself with improvisatory freedom to the inspiration of the moment". Needless to say, Galamian goes on to describe "improvisatory freedom" as that which remains closely tied to the framework and formal structure of "the work" (1978: 7). According to both accounts, interpretation is described as a personal engagement that the player has with the work.

Within the Suzuki violin lesson, interpretation is likewise referred to as teaching the student how to play with "expression", how to "play beyond the notes." However, the process is similarly ill-defined, for while musical expression seems to be equated with personal involvement, the student is never taught how to "make their personality count" (Goehr 1992: 1). As I will illustrate, this contradiction stems from the Werktreue ideal.

One of the most fundamental elements in the Suzuki method is teaching the student a piece of music through consistent and repeated listening. The compulsory listening tapes given to the students are an explicit example of what the student is required to aspire to in his own playing:

> If we present the young child with musical sound impressions on a regular basis, then certainly the desire to express itself musically [presumably 'itself' refers to the young child] will gradually be awakened. In order to assist this process Suzuki makes cassettes available which contain pieces played in his school. These recordings are an essential and indispensable component of the method. Suzuki over and over again points out to teachers and parents that rapid progress and the development of a feeling for music depends on listening daily to the appropriate pieces (Steinschaden and Zehetmain 1985: 10, emphasis mine).

As evidenced in this passage, there is an ambiguous relationship between imitation and interpretation. The student is taught to imitate an audible standard, but ultimately the goal is to develop a personal understanding of the music that transcends the imitative practice.

Starr provides strategies for teaching the "Suzuki repertoire" in his book The Suzuki Violinist. In the directives given for the piece "O Come Little Children" (Suzuki Book One), Starr equates "interpretation" with a "musical" rendition which he then delineates in very specific terms:

> A musical interpretation by advanced students might include diminuendos at the ends of the first and last phrases with a crescendo in the B phrase leading to a climax on the high A in the C phrase. A ritardando may close the piece (1976: 83).

Starr refers to "interpretation" not as the performer's allocated space, but as an component that is as specifiable as foot position discussed in the previous chapter. This begs the obvious question, that being what defines interpretation in performance? Furthermore who is in control of the definition, and if the interpretative practice is both pre-determined and controlled, how can the musician become personally involved in the performance?

These questions can be further applied to the violin lesson in which the teacher is responsible for "stimulating musical thinking" in the student and encouraging independence (Eisler 1993: 26), but at the same time is responsible for defining exactly how the music is to sound. This is illustrated in the lessons of a particular advanced Suzuki student, aged 16, who was learning Franz Schubert's Ave Maria. The teacher stopped the student to show how the bow was to be used at the beginning of the piece and how to play a certain accent. The teacher then proceeded to play with the student and direct how the music was "supposed" to be played, drawing the student's attention to the "most important notes" in the piece, to certain passages that were to "fade out". The teacher's intention was to prompt the student to play the piece with "artistic expression" and in doing so, conveyed that the expressive qualities of the music were not brought to the music by the performer, but inherent in the music.

On another occasion, this same student was playing W.A. Mozart's violin concerto in G Major, K.216 and was instructed by the teacher to listen to a recording by Itzhak Perlman. The purpose for this instruction was to prompt the student to compare various recordings of the violin concerto and to develop her listening skills. She was told that the piece may differ in tempo, tone, feeling depending on which recording it was and how the "artist interpreted the score". The concept of interpretation was introduced, however it was confined to the practice of imitating an audible standard.

As evidenced in the teacher's instructions and Starr's directives, the interpretive practice is regulated by the "work concept" in that the activity is seemingly confined to recognition of the "expressive properties" inherent in the music, implying that interpretation is determined by the work itself. Kingsbury investigates how the

exegetical activities of musicians are controlled. He refers to the music's text as a "supra-legal document" and comments on how interpretation of this document has come to be perceived:

> To me it seems inescapable that the twentieth Century movement toward an insistence on the "urtext" editions, historically "authentic" performance, and the adherence to the composer's intentions has taken place in the context of a progression toward [an] . . . institutionally-controlled environment of musical interpretation (1991: 217).

Kingsbury bases his argument on Kermode's (1979) notion of the "institutional control of interpretation". Kermode himself explores how the "institution", what he defines as the "professional community which has authority", has come to "define (or indicate) the limits of a subject; to impose valuations and validate interpretations" (1979: 72). By means of a hierarchical structure in which the "old instruct the young" and the "young submit because there is no other way to succession" (1979: 73) (much like the hierarchy evident in the violin lesson), the "true interpretation", or perhaps more accurately stated, a correct translation of the music's score, is defined. Subotnik similarly refers to a "musical discipline" that is imposed upon the performer by those considered to be "musically educated" (1991: 244). She further claims that "this sort of musical training . . . does not incline performers to reinterpret [the composer's wishes] in accordance with their own wishes or circumstances" (1991: 244).

The student learns there is a "reified musical standard" (Turino 1993: 113) and that their performance of the work is measured accordingly, leaving a "minimum area of musical variability" (Qureshi 1987: 81) if any at all. Such "musical discipline", to use Subotnick's expression, is further reinforced by the select recordings by which the student is taught to compare his playing. These recordings present the work as both static and separate from a performance context. This has undoubtedly made a profound impact on standardizing interpretations or "musical renderings" of the score, for recordings have an unchanging quality and essentially determine how the music is to be marked.

The interpretive practice is fundamentally connected to Werktreue, necessitating a query into what role the performer has. McClary states rather emphatically that performers are "trained not to interpret". She defines 'interpret' as the "imposition of the unwanted self on what is fantasized to be a direct transmission of the composer's subjective intentions to the listener" (1985: 152). Her definition of "interpretation" (imposition of

the self) is similar to an ideal held in Western performance practice but as McClary articulates, this ideal does not fit with Werktreue.

In Halliwell's study of the Japanese *Koto*, he examines the learning process in traditional Japanese music, and the social and cultural aspects inherent in that process. He uses the Western classical tradition as a basis for comparison and in doing so, discusses "interpretation" in relation to text. Halliwell claims that the concept of "interpretation" in Western classical music derives from that of a "fixed musical 'text' that lies, solid and immutable but intangible, somewhere out beyond the realities of everyday performance and human life" (1994: 42). The Japanese *Koto* musician in contrast, does not make a distinction between "text" and "interpretation" because that would imply the notion of a "work." They do not perceive music as a fixed object, but as an object that is continually changing, reflecting the natural variance of the humans making the music (1994: 42). As Halliwell contends, the ideological context of the music determines what role the performer has in making that music.

4.2.2 The Performer's Role

The hierarchical and differentiating relationship between the composer, the work and the performer, determines the role that the student learns as a classically trained musician. Performers are subordinate to the composer. As Citron observes "in Western music the figure of the composer has been privileged above most other structures" (1993: 113) forcing the performer to take a role of deference. However, even more privileged than the composer is the work. As E.T.A. Hoffman exclaimed in 1919:

> the genuine artist lives only for the work . . . All his thoughts and actions are directed towards bringing into being all the wonderful, enchanting pictures and impressions the composer sealed in his work with magical power (quoted from Hoffman's "Beethovens Instrumentalmusik" Musikalische Novellen und Aufsaetze, edited by E. Istel, Regensburg, Goehr 1992: 1-2).

Richard Wagner referred to the performer's relation to "the work" in a similar manner:

> For what matters is that we should hear the work itself ideally reproduced, and that our attention to it should in no wise be distracted by the special qualities of the performer (quoted from Weber 1984: 41)

According to both Hoffman and Wagner, the performer must temper their individuality in order to realize the true nature of the work. This value is not merely a part of our musical past, but informs our present performance practice. By designating the

performer's role as secondary to "the work", interpretation of the music is not a matter of becoming personally engaged, but of placing the work in a preeminent position and thus becoming personally disengaged.

There are other performance traditions in which the performer's role is not defined as such. The role of performer in the Indian classical tradition is inseparable from that of composer. The musical work does not exist outside the context of the performance, for its very inception occurs within the performance context and is only possible through the musician (Qureshi 1986: 7).

Performance is the blending of composed and improvised forms which come together in a particular individual musician. Reck (1983), in a study of the Indian vina performer Thirugokarnam Ramachandra Iyer, focuses his attention on Iyer's "tool-kit", different elements combined within, and making possible, the musical performance. Reck claims that the oral tradition in which Iyer's performances are based is different from the "museum quality of present-day performance . . . [in] Western classical music which has come down to us through musical notation" (1983: xiii). The Indian performer is not dependent on a score. The music is created in the performance context and so the musician becomes an inherent element, an irreplaceable part of the music production. Reck analyzes the Indian performance as a merging of structure and spontaneity:

> Use of pre-set (or habitual) materials or ways of working are necessary because of the speed of composition in (not before) performance. Yet all the materials worked with retain a kind of elasticity both in terms of internal structure and in the ways they can be combined into larger units. There is the potential for the creative and the spontaneous (along with the "safety" of the framework) (Reck 1983: xxi).

The description of the Indian performer is useful for it draws attention to Western performance ideals. In contrast to the spontaneity, creativity and elasticity of Iyer's performance technique, the Western musician's role is that of being subjected to the "total pre-control" of the score (Qureshi 1987: 81).

Powers provides an interesting comparison between North Indian classical music and Western music, using the common analogy of language. He claims that performer of Indian classical music is similar to one who speaks a language for there is a spontaneous element in both the performing and the speaking. Western art music, however, with the centralization of the "composed artifact", is like a language that is not

spoken and thus static:

> Indian classical music seems much closer to language than its Western counterpart (a music almost completely instanced by composed artifacts), since 'improvisation' - which is nothing but spontaneous as opposed to pre-composed musical discourse - plays the major role in its performance practice (1977: 333).

Powers' analogy highlights how the Western "work-centred" tradition leaves little room for variability in performance, or for the performer's voice to be heard.

Keil argues that what makes music "personally involving and socially valuable", are "participatory discrepancies" in performance, the "personal touches" of the musician, the "processual and textural" nuances that directly involve both performer and listener (1987: 275). This is what Keil believes to be the "power of the music", developing a "oneness" or "urge to merge" between the performer and the music, between the performer and other participants and between the performer and "nature, society, the body" (1987: 276).

Keil provides a framework for better understanding what makes music such a potent mode of expression. In agreement with Keil, McClary claims that music is able to "contribute heavily to the shaping of individual identities . . . [it can teach us] to experience our own emotions, our own desires, and even our own bodies" (1992: 53). It is the personal involvement with music that both Keil and McClary are referring to. Music's potential power lies within its ability to draw in the individual.

Turino (1993) uses, and provides a working definition of Keil's notion of "participatory discrepancies" to explain the music of the rural Conimenos. He argues that Keil's definition of discrepancies is potentially misleading if one limits the definition to the sonic characteristics of the music. Turino claims that Keil's definition of participation in music does not mean that playing "out of tune" and "out of time" is a literal means of becoming personally involved in the music. These are only expressions used to describe performance as it exists in real time. As Turino explains, discrepancies are "indices of the particular moment . . . bring[ing] the people who participated into a special relationship based on being there" and it is the "play around the edges of convention" that constitutes a sense of "being there" (Turino 1993: 113-4).

These notions of personal involvement with the music challenge certain ideals

pertaining to the performer's role that are associated with Werktreue . For example, placing the work in the context of real time (thus drawing attention to the moment) is not crucial, for "the work" both precedes and follows the performance. As McClary states, there is an insistence that the Western performer "strive for a perfect, standard sound, for an unbroken, polished surface" (1985: 152), a description that corresponds to a "reified musical standard" (Turino 1993) and conflicts with the idea of "nuances" discovered in moments of moving away from convention.

4.2.3 The Primary Framework of Performance

I have attempted to explore the work concept as it affects performance ideology, but so far I have not described the performance event itself which, in some ways, is the most explicit illustration of Werktreue. Goehr uses the term the "separability principle" to describe an historic phenomenon in which art as a transcendent and autonomous entity became a romanticized construction at the end of the eighteenth century. Art was "severed from anything associated with the transient, contingent world of mere mortals" (Goehr 1992: 157) and placed in a metaphorical museum: the concert hall.

Suzuki violin concerts are events that are generally separated from the "everyday". They are scheduled for time periods that do not clash with working hours or the weekly lessons. The space used is an auditorium or gymnasium set up for the concert, often with a back-dropped stage and rows of chairs. The time and space frames which create the separation are "temporal and spatial brackets" in Goffman's terms (1974: 251) but more than brackets, the separation marks the music-making activity as special and deserving of the unadulterated attention by the participants.

The separation between the event and the everyday world finds a parallel structure within the auditorium, that being the separation between the performer and the audience. This separation is an element of the event that exists on what Small calls a "ritual level" (1987: 8), such components that "dramatize and re-enact the shared mythology of a culture or social group" (1987: 7). Kingsbury similarly describes the conservatory recital as a ritual, a "formally framed event" which specifically dramatizes a "sacralized social distance" between performer and audience (1988: 116). According to Weber, it is this aspect, the "impersonality of relationships between listeners and performers" (1977: 7) that has characterized musical mass culture, a phenomenon that has led to the "secular religiosity of music" (1977: 21).

The student concert is comparable in many ways to the symphony concert as deconstructed by Small, or the recital by Kingsbury. What is of significance to both authors and evident in the student concerts, is the segregation of the performer from the audience. Small describes this in terms of the physical space constructed.

> The audience, the non-active participants in the event, are seated in more or less comfortable seats arranged in rows; the rows are generally curved to centre the sightlines on the middle of the performer's platform, to which the audience has no access (1987: 9).

He continues to describe the separation noting the roles accorded to audience members:

> the arrangement of the seating does not, in any case, encourage interaction with any but one's immediate neighbours. And of course during the actual performance total silence and as nearly as possible total immobility are enforced . . . There is . . . one time when spontaneous or quasi-spontaneous behaviour is not only tolerated but positively expected, and that is at the end of a performance . . . even here [however] the range of behaviour is circumscribed (1987: 10).

I have quoted Small at some length for his description of the audience's involvement is similar to what I observed in the Suzuki violin concerts, with certain exceptions. In the Suzuki concerts that I attended, the student as a performer, was only segregated from the audience during his actual performance and unlike Small's symphony concert, there was movement between the audience and the performance platform. The audience was made up of both parents and children, and so behaviour was not so well-maintained. Children were allowed to look around, swing their legs, whisper to their parents and the crying of babies was difficult to avoid, usually resulting in the mother leaving the room with the source of the disturbing noises. Nevertheless the students were required to sit still in rows, to listen silently to the performing student and to clap when the piece was finished. As Starr claims "if most of the members of the audience are reasonably attentive, the majority of the children will conform fairly well" (1976: 11). The Suzuki students are learning how to participate in a "cultural performance" not only as performers, but as audience members as well.

Kingsbury (1988) does not systematically analyze the parts of the performance event as Small does but focuses his attention specifically on the separation of performer from audience claiming that it is an enactment of the "conceptual split between the individual and collectivity" (1988: 120), a manifestation of the "cult of individualism" (1988: 117). I agree with Kingsbury and will return to this point later to explain why, but for now I wish to concentrate on the work concept as being at the source of the audience-

performer division. Neither Small nor Kingsbury deal with the product orientation that is inherent in Western art music practice. According to Goehr, it is Werktreue that is the core of the issue.

The performance event reinforces the centralized position of the work by placing the performer on the stage in an alienated and isolated position. Audience participation in the performance is almost absent, except when at the end of the piece, appreciation, acknowledgement, satisfaction are expressed with clapping. The "conventions" of the concert hall setting determine, as Goehr points out, "that audiences should listen with disinterested respect" (1992: 249), and to be both "literally and metaphorically silent" (1992: 236). Respect for the autonomous work, as a product exempt from extra-musical meaning and function, came to regulate audience behaviour, to discourage participation and favour a more "civilized" involvement (Goehr 1992: 237).

In comparison with other performance traditions, this lack of audience participation is by no means universal. In the Indian classical tradition for example, the audience verbalizes contentment or pleasure while the performer is playing or singing. Applause may break out if the music being created is particularly pleasing. Such participation is intended not only to show immediate gratification but to encourage the performer. Indeed, there is a connection to each moment that the music is being created, a participation of the audience member in the music's production. Essentially, there is an interaction between the context of music-making and the text of the music (Qureshi 1987).

Returning to a quote cited in the preceding chapter, Cone claims that as "members of an audience, silence should present to us a period of empty time in which nothing is happening" (1968: 16). He goes on to say that music is to "control us all" and it is within the period of "nothing" that the separation between "us" and the music is to be most powerful. This segregation of the music from the audience has not always been so. Goehr points out that in the eighteenth Century and well into the 19th Century, compositions within the Western European art tradition were often interrupted "by the style and shape of the occasions . . . because the extra-musical generally had priority over the musical" (1992: 192). There was not such a strong division between the music and the audience for audience members did not perceive music as sacrosanct and autonomous. Audience interruptions and the "generally haphazard and unrehearsed performances" (Goehr 1992: 193) occurred before Werktreue became an established

social construct. Once this construct was established, audience participation was perceived as getting in the way of the music, of denigrating the art.

Weber also notes the changes in the code of audience behaviour that occurred in the late eighteenth and early 19th Centuries. He describes the concert halls in the eighteenth Century as "excessively free" in that people would talk during the performance, the hall was always lighted throughout the event, the occasional fight might have even broken out "in the close quarters down front" (1984: 30). By the end of the 1800's, a new social etiquette had been established. To "show proper respect for the music", the audience was expected to remain seated and silent during the performance (Weber 1984: 39) and those music connoisseurs who advocated the "serious music cultures" certainly did not "put up with any chatter in the concert hall" (Weber 1977: 7). Eventually the changing attitude towards music resulted in an "impersonality of relationships between listeners and performers" (Weber 1977: 7).

In explaining structured meaning in performance, Kapferer notes that performance always "intends an audience" and has "directionality" which either "creates the possibility for the mutual involvement of participants or else creates a "distance" which leads the audience to "reflect from a structured perspective outside the immediacy of experience" (1986: 193). This distance has become part of Western performances of art music. Music as an object devoid of extra-musical meaning is performed in venues free of distractions and at events specifically devised for the purpose of making music. The performer is a medium for the music, not inherently bound to it.

4.3 THE IDEOLOGY OF INDIVIDUALISM

Violin students learn to perform within a context that upholds Werktreue as an ideal. The student is taught that music is autonomous, a "self contained structure", "unrelated to the . . . outside, social world" (McClary 1985: 149) and thus unrelated on some level to the individual performer. This is articulated in a comment made by a Suzuki cello teacher, that the goal of the performer is to "communicate to the audience the variety of moods and emotions contained in the music" (Cheney 1993: 47, emphasis mine). The "moods" are not the individual's but the music's which supposedly speaks for all, a general voice for humanity. As Citron expresses "The author [composer] takes on a kind of disembodied form beyond social specificity. In short, the transcendent author of the author-function is quite powerful" (Citron 1992: 113). The power of a

disembodied and general voice however, seemingly contradicts a basic ideology in Western thought, that of individualism, autonomy and self expression.

Individualism is perhaps one of the most fundamental values in Western society. In music, it is most evident in characteristics given to the composer such as creativity, divine inspiration, genius. Characteristics of individualism used to describe the performer are not quite the same for as I explained above, the independence associated with the composer is incongruent with the performer's role. Nevertheless, aspects of individuality are implicit in the ideology of performance practice. If the reader will recall, I made a reference in the previous chapter to Bergeron's description of the Suzuki class as demonstrating the "eerie power of the ordered body" (1992: 2). It seems that the Suzuki class in particular, with its collective performance style, drew Bergeron's attention because the autonomy of performance was confiscated, the individualism that Western society so strongly upholds apparently absent. The Suzuki performance context, as an affront to the valued autonomy and independence of the performer, provides a useful indication of what is valued in performance practice: the appearance at least, of individualism.

Kingsbury acknowledges this ideal of individualism as it pertains specifically to performance. He notes that the "solo recital . . . reinforces collective ideas of individualism" (1988: 124). However, he argues that the recital, rather than an avenue for the individual to express himself, is a reinforcement of the ideology of individualism:

> labelling a solo recital as rite in a cult of the individual is a quite different matter from saying that John Doe's senior recital is a ritual in a cult of John Doe (1988: 122).

Subotnik similarly claims that the cultural reverence for individuality has "transformed respect for individuality into an ideology of individualism" (1992: 249). She argues that this has created a situation in which individuals (such as the Suzuki violin student) are confronted with the notion of individualism but are correspondingly constrained by it, and thus unable to "exert very much power over our collective social life or cultural institutions" (1992: 249). Subotnik argues that the ideology of individualism limits the individual because it is essentially an ideology of elitism, placing few individuals and their music on a pedestal.

Individualism is valued in our culture, but as Subotnik and Kingsbury note, it has a precarious and ambiguous place in the Western classical music tradition. Both authors set out to examine the ideology of individualism and how it relates to the individual, and both attempt to reconcile a contradiction that stems from this relation. Performance practice in the Western classical tradition testifies to the importance given to preservation as inherent in the Werktreue ideal; however, and somewhat paradoxically, performance is also a domain in which "extreme and uncritical individualistic values" are most evident (Subotnik 1991: 256). Frith makes note of this same tension in what he calls the "bourgeois music world" stating that there is a "firm sense of musical tradition [that] has to be preserved, documented, refined and elaborated and an equally firm belief in the value of creativity and the importance of the new and the original" (1990: 97).

Similarly, the strong element of preservation that is apparently fundamental in various activities of the violin lesson does not appear to co-exist easily with that of individualism. If, however, ideology is defined in relation to, and differentiated from practice, it becomes clear that the ideology of individualism, rather than a contradiction to that of preservation, is a fundamental aspect of it.

Janet Wolff, provides a definition of ideology that is straightforward and applicable to my own study: ideology is "the ideas and beliefs people have [that are] systematically related to their actual and material conditions of existence" (1981: 50). Wolff's definition interrelates ideas with material conditions and cultural institutions. The ideology of individualism is interrelated with performance practice as manifest in the solo recital, in the esteemed virtuoso, in the individual performers whose names have become world renowned. It becomes apparent though, that these are merely the visible legitimations of the ideology, what Kingsbury and Subotnik are referring to. A more profound (even if seemingly contradictory) manifestation of the ideology is Werktreue.

In Wolff's analysis of the individual artist, she makes a reference to the stereotypical version of the artist as "social outcast, starving in a garret", the Romantic notion of the artist as free agent (1981: 11). She presents two developments that contributed to this image, firstly the rise of individualism in correspondence with industrial capitalism and secondly the separation of the artist from the security of the patronage system and thus from any clear social group. Citron refers to Wolff's study of the "seemingly autonomous individual" who rose to prominence in this period (the solo performer, the

free-lance composer, the orchestra conductor, the music critic) and points out that the model of the autonomous individual contributed to a "larger interlocking process that contribut[ed] to the production of an artwork" (1993: 101).

Weber explains this process in reference to a "musical idealism" which emerged out of "social and cultural tendencies" at the turn of the 19th Century (1984: 28). This idealism eventually came to define music as an autonomous product, separate from process and social context. These tendencies are, as Weber claims, "hazily understood", but like Wolff, he connects "musical idealism" to the commercial revolution which "transformed not only the economic base of musical life but also the nature of musical taste" (1984: 31).

One aspect of this "musical idealism" was the unprecedented homage paid to composers of the past. Certain composers, mostly from the classical era, became part of a "musical sainthood" creating "a fundamental change in the orientation of European musical taste" (Weber 1977: 5), in which as never before, there was a "special reverence for dead composers" (Weber 1977: 21). Weber provides an example from the Leipzig Gewandhaus orchestra which illustrates this change. In 1781-1785, 13 percent of dead composers' music was performed, in 1837-1847 the number of such performances had risen to almost 50 percent and soon after, in the mid-1850's, 76 percent of the concert repertoire was that of dead composers (1977: 18). Weber asserts, along with Wolff, that a new definition of individualism emerged in the early 19th century that placed few composers in this highly respected position, thus reinforcing the idea of the unique individual.

Correspondingly there was an "austere new code that singled out the music itself for veneration" (Weber 1984: 29). Weber claims thus that this emerging "musical idealism" incorporates the changing perception of the music in relation to the individual, that out of the "pantheon of great composers" came a standard by which "all new works had to be judged" (1984: 38). The canon of the great masterworks became an embodiment of the ideology of individualism and as a result, the ideas and beliefs that pertain to individualism, became more committed to preserving the canon by which all other individuals would be measured.

Weber's reference to the esteemed individual within this changing musical idealism is not an encompassing account of the individual in various musical roles. The "musical

sainthood" that he refers to is limited to the composer who ascended to the status of genius, saint, master, in this changing musical environment.

Similarly Goehr makes note of the connection between the individual composer and the art work. She claims that "romantic transcendence" was used to describe not only the work but the "free genius": the composer unattached to binding social institutions and thus able to "create embodiments of the Infinite" (1992: 162). Goehr notes that as the work evolved into a divine and autonomous product, so was the creator attributed with "a God-like existence" (1992: 162).

While Wolff, Weber and Goehr help to reconcile a seeming contradiction between the ideology of individualism and that of Werktreue, I am still left guessing as to where the performer fits in. According to Weber, "a basic principle of musical idealism was the conviction that performance must be entirely true to the music", but that in the mid 1800's when this new perspective was emerging, this was "unabashed idealism", for "it was generally assumed that opera and other virtuoso genres were designed as vehicles to display the skill of the performers" (1984: 35). Goehr also refers to the performer as having to "temper their individuality and freedom" if they had not "made it" as an "independent virtuoso" (1992: 274, emphasis mine), thus implying that the performer is potentially capable of attaining the same revered position and agency as that of the composer.

Indeed it is true that the performer, along with the composer, has become an increasingly worshipped element of the music tradition along with the composer. Certain performers such as Paganini, Joachim, Heifetz, Perlman, Stern, to name but a few, are arguably part of a canon of performers. For example, in the violin lesson described above, the student was not asked to listen to any performer playing Mozart's Violin Concerto, but to Itzhak Perlman's rendition. The figure of the virtuoso reinforces the differences between individuals, further perpetuating the ideology of individualism. It is a situation not dissimilar from the "musical sainthood" to which the composer belongs. Few individuals (who are often referred to as genius, master, much as the composer is) are chosen to represent a standard. Again, the apparent individualism of the star performer does not contradict Werktreue for virtuosic ability is based upon being able to render as accurately as is humanly possible the "true music".

Perhaps the strongest affirmation of individualized expression is found within the

notion of talent, the belief that the natural and inherent abilities are given to certain individuals thus marking one individual off from another. Talent is believed to be a manifestation of individual differences and as such, it is a cultural construct that categorizes human beings. It fits into what Bourdieu refers to as an "essentialism", the assigning of "historically produced social differences to a biological nature functioning like an essence from which every actual act in life will be implacably deduced" (Moi 1991: 1030, quoting Bourdieu from "La Domination Masculine", Actes de la recherche en sciences socialcs 84 (1990): 2-31). Defined as essentialist, talent is in Bourdieu's terms, part of "doxic social power", an established order "perceived not as arbitrary . . . but as a self evident and natural order which goes without saying and therefore goes unquestioned" (Bourdieu 1977: 167).

By defining talent as a cultural construct, I am not suggesting that individuals do not differ, indeed that would defeat my argument. Rather, as a construction, talent is a means of measuring each individual's musical capabilities in accordance with a standard as defined by Werktreue. Kingsbury similarly notes that "although 'talent' is understood as a form of potential existing independently from performance, attributions of talent, musicality, or their absence come as judgements of actual auditions or performances" (1988: 68, emphasis mine). While talent is a "cultural representation"(Kingsbury 1988) that perpetuates the ideology of individualism, it correspondingly acts as a "measure of instrumental discipline" (Bergeron 1992: 2) in conjunction with the "work concept".

Suzuki challenges the notion of "inborn abilities", claiming that "human beings are not born with particular talents, but have the potential in which those talents originate" (1989: 11). In essence, Suzuki proposes that with proper and repeated training, human abilities develop. He applied this philosophy to music education, maintaining that musical talent was not "in-born" but a matter of nurturing (excerpted from Suzuki's lecture given at Japan Institute of Educational Psychology, October 16, 1973, quoted in Starr 1976: 1).

As Kingsbury states "the notion of 'talent' is fundamental to Western thinking about human musicality" (1988: 60). It is a concept that has emerged out of a stable music tradition and although it is a cultural construct that has evolved, it appears to be a natural, self-evident phenomenon. By objecting to the naturalness of talent, Suzuki makes explicit a value that is paramount to the ideological existence of the "individual"

within our music culture.

I have argued that violin students are taught to perform in a manner that is true to the work. This is another form of structure in the violin lesson. The student learns not to question this structure but quite the opposite, to "extend the employment of the work-concept" (Goehr 1992: 245). It is an example of the dominant view being perpetuated, not only through conceptual imperialism ("rewriting the past") and "constancy and standardization" (forms of measurement for the performer) (1992: 245-7), as Goehr points out, but through one of the strongest reproducing agents, education. Within the context of the music lesson, the work concept remains dominant because not only are students taught to adhere to the score and to the audible standards set by other performers, but also because notions of interpretation and talent reinforce the ideology of individualism at the expense of individual expression.

Conclusion

As a conclusion to this study, I do not intend to provide a means of confirming for the reader that there is completion, a finality to the issues addressed. Contrary to this purpose, my concluding remarks are not meant to provide a sense of completion. Rather, I refer again to Geertz whom I quoted in the introduction: that any ethnography is "intrinsically incomplete and the more deeply it goes the less complete it is" (1973: 29). It is more apparent now then when I began that this ethnography is incomplete. This is not a conclusion but a reflective account of what issues have emerged out of this study.

As I mentioned in my introduction, this study was prompted by my own personal experiences as a violinist and by questioning examinations made by others. Timothy Rice critically analyzes our "way of teaching" and draws attention, in particular, to the teaching process that is founded in a tradition that relies so strongly on pre-composition for expressive purposes.

> In substituting written scores for the brain as the main storage system for music, we may be depriving our students of one of the most important music experiences - the ability to generate music . . . from within one's body and self. This is not to suggest that music notation is at fault, but simply that students need to be directed . . . to generate [music] rather than merely reproduce it (1985: 120).

By contrasting the act of reproducing music to that of generating music, Rice articulates the contradiction between cultural constructs pertaining to individualism and those pertaining to Werktreue. He locates the individual within this contradiction and moreover, within the music tradition.

Challenging examinations of the music tradition, of both its inherent values and practices, are significant in that they reflect a discomfort with the positivism that is prevalent in the concert halls, in musicological scholarship, in the violin lesson. I similarly experienced this discomfort in my role as violin student and later as teacher and was able to explore this response in my role as ethnographer. I entered into the lesson event with somewhat of an innocent gaze, observing the activity as I mentioned above, from the "martian's point of view" (Nettl 1989b), as a feigned outsider. My intention was to study the teaching process as an enculturative process, and I claimed that our ways of teaching music were indeed our ways of teaching culture.

Through inductive means, I was able to determine how the lesson was a culturally defined event. I deconstructed the lesson activity and space, the role behaviour of participants and further investigated what was defined as "musically significant" (and thus culturally so) by those participants. However, as my investigation proceeded, this inductive approach moved toward a deductive one for what emerged out of my observations was the need for a critical examination of the primacy bestowed to the music over the individual's self-expression. Furthermore, I noted that this primacy and subsequent need to preserve, was not limited to the "music tradition" defined as the music canon and performance practice, but encompassed the values, attitudes and assumptions that were part of the tradition, those having to do with elitism, authority, control.

As Goehr (1992) points out, there is no such thing as "innocent" thinking, that the way we think about music is accountable and to be critically examined. Similarly, the way we teach music is not an innocent process. By examining the music lesson from such an angle, I was no longer confined to the "innocent gaze", to analyzing the music lesson as an enculturative event and thus rationalizing all lesson activity.

I began to examine more carefully how the formalized lesson event related to the roles of participants. I argued that the "docile" body of the violinist is not only a result of a structured setting (as Douglas and Goffman have argued with regard to other situations) but a result of parameters directly placed on the individual's body. Accepting the notion that the body is a "perpetual source of [cultural] meaning" (Gusfield 1992: 75), a socially inscribed product, it became apparent that the trained body of the violinist was a product, and a sign, of control. I attempted to analyze how this reflected more generally upon the music tradition. I indicated that fidelity to the score was a central focus in the violin lesson. I observed that students learned how to comply with this intent by disciplining their bodies, and further by imitating and deferring to a model, a model defined and constrained by the "musical idealism" that emerged in the early to mid 1800's.

As my study progressed, it became apparent that my concerns were not about the music lesson so much as the music tradition, or better stated, about the context in which the music lesson is defined. I used the Suzuki violin lesson to direct my study; however, I did not intend to differentiate between teaching methodologies. This may not necessarily be true of my readers, and perhaps my choice to observe and analyze the

Suzuki violin lesson as opposed to a more traditional lesson, was not as effectual as I had hoped. Nevertheless, I hope that my enquiry prompts at least the beginning of an awareness of how music education is not "innocent" (Goehr 1992). As Kecht wisely advises:

> Those [educators] who consider their task of transmitting tradition, knowledge, and skills to be nonideological . . . are apparently quite blind to the powerful mechanisms of selection that define what will be the approved and accepted version of tradition, what will count as significant ideas, and what will be ratified as legitimate methods of inquiry (Kecht 1992: 6).

This certainly raises questions for those of us who are involved in music education, but not only educators need think about this issue, for the ramifications are far reaching and touch all of our lives in many different ways.

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APPENDIX 1

Observation Data

Number of Lessons: 67

Number of Teachers (members of S.T.E., guest faculty for summer program, independent teachers using Suzuki methodology): 5

Primary teacher observed (Artistic Coordinator of S.T.E.): 80%

Variations:
a) the teacher's home
b) classroom at Society for Talent Education
c) classrooms, Univ. of AB (summer program)

Number of students observed on weekly basis: 10

Number of students observed during week of summer program: 20

Ages of students: 4 to 16 years of age

Time-span of weekly observations: November 03 to March 02, 1994

Dates of summer workshop: July 18 to 23, 1993

Concerts attended:
a) University of AB's S.U.B. concert hall
b) gymnasium at Society for Talent Education

APPENDIX 2

Standard form used for recording observations of violin lessons:
TEACHER: STUDENT:
LESSON NUMBER AND DATE:

STRUCTURE OF THE LESSON
1. Order of Events (check mark or not)
   - general conversation
   - bow
   - introductory piece
   - exercise
   - other piece
   - review
   - ensemble
   - sight reading
   - bow
   - conversation

2. Physical structure of room/people situated

3. Role Behaviour
   a) what is the reaction/interaction of student to teacher?
   b) teacher to student?
   c) parent to student/teacher?

TEACHING METHOD
1. Types of teaching
   a) imitation
   b) physical correction
   c) reference to self correction
   d) metaphor

2. Exercises referred to in isolation from music

3. Reference to home practice

PERFORMANCE
1. Preparation for performance
   a) reference to performing music
   b) reference to set up of performance (i.e.: bow, clapping, where to stand)

2. Behaviour of participants at performance

MUSIC
1. Piece(s) of music focused on in the lesson

2. Reference to authority of music

* recorded observations in writing only - I did not deem appropriate to do a video or sound recording
* I used this form as an inventory for certain elements of the lesson I was examining.